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The Magazine Division of the proceedings contains the following 6 papers: "Henry Luce's Anti-Communist Legacy: A Qualitative Content Analysis of U.S. News Magazines' Coverage of China's Cultural Revolution" (Daniel Marshall Haygood); "Gender Images in Global Versions of 'Gentlemen's Quarterly'" (Hong Ji); "Selling Silicon: The Framing of Microcomputers in Magazine Advertisements, 1974-1997" (Jean P. Kelly); "Magazine Professors vs. Editors: Are We Teaching Students What They Need to Get Jobs in the Magazine Industry?" (Carolyn Lepre and Glen L. Bleske); "Working Women in Mainstream Women's Magazines: A Content Analysis" (Juanita J. Covert); and "Is There a 'Maxim' Effect?: Men's Magazine Covers 'Sexed-Up' for Sales" (Jacqueline Lambiase and Tom Reichert). (RS)

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Running head: Luce's Legacy

Henry Luce's Anti-Communist Legacy:

A Qualitative Content Analysis of U.S. News Magazines' Coverage

Of China's

Cultural Revolution

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Henry Luce's Anti-Communist Legacy:
A Qualitative Content Analysis of U.S. News Magazines' Coverage
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In the winter of 1961, media mogul Henry Luce, still seething over the successful Sputnik launches by the Soviet Union and the defeat of Richard Nixon by John Kennedy the previous November, gathered the leaders of his corporation in the company auditorium and presented a manifesto outlining a renewed and re-energized mission for his media empire:

> And I propose to you that we of Time, Inc. now register in our minds and wills that from here on out the dominant aim of Time, Inc. shall be the defeat of the Communist movement throughout the world....Every individual and every organization in the land can strike a blow for Liberty and against Communism - now....And to repeat, the climax of the struggle with Communism will come – soon. It has begun and, in all probability, by 1965 we shall either have negotiated our own surrender or Communism will have become a disrupted, discredited and disintegrating force....I propose that the determination be made now, that it be made here, and that it be made by the editors and managers of Time, Inc.[1]

If there was anyone left in America who at that time had any remaining doubts about the intensity of Henry Luce's anti-Communist sentiments or his willingness to use his media empire to battle the those forces, they were dispelled with finality by the above grand pronouncement. Luce's comments were a reconfirmation of his personal and professional conviction that every element of American society should focus on crushing the Communist threat. For Luce and his Time, Inc., this battle was simply a continuation of his own life's mission to shape the world in America's image.

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[1] W.A. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 414-415.

Henry Robinson Luce was born in Tengchow, China on April 3, 1889. His parents were Methodist missionary educators dedicated to helping the Chinese to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ and to rise above the devastating poverty experienced by so many in the Far East at the time. His experiences in Tengchow helped create a lasting love for China; a bond that dramatically influenced his personal and professional life. Young Henry was educated at both the esteemed and exclusive Hotchkiss School and Yale University. At Hotchkiss, Luce would meet his future business partner in publishing, Briton Hadden, and at Yale, he would develop his interest in journalism.[2]

Following graduation from Yale, Luce and his friend Hadden secured enough money to begin a publishing enterprise. The first issue of *Time*, with the Speaker of the House, Joe Cannon, appearing on the front, was distributed in early March 1923. The magazine's eventual success led to the introduction of the "March of Time" newsreel and radio program, *Life* magazine, *Fortune* magazine, and *Sports Illustrated*.[3] As owner and editor of his publications, Luce was known for his very close and active role in forging editorial policy and direction via a constant flood of memos, letters, and meetings. He had a practice of hiring like-minded editors to assure a consistency of message.[4] And according to many, most consistent of all was his message about the evils of Communism and its potential spread around the world, particularly its potential spread to the nation of his birth, his beloved China.

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[2] Robert E. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994), 24-34.

[3] Herzstein, 44-78.

[4] The infamous Whittaker Chambers was one of those hires. He worked as Foreign Editor for *Time* and was known for his substantial rewrites of work and tensions with reporters, including the respected Theodore White. Later, Chambers would leave *Time* and go on to his "Alger Hiss" fame.

This paper will look at a whether Luce's influence remained in his publications even after he left official duty at Time, Inc. Did his passion and hatred toward Communism still permeate the pages of *Time* magazine? Is that reflected in *Time*'s coverage of China during a crucial period of the country's history when the Chinese Communist program, the Cultural Revolution, was imposed on the Chinese population?

Scholars' Views

Among scholars and writers, Luce's life and legacy is crystal clear. Luce is soundly excoriated for his approach to journalism, his views of the world, and his drive to spread those views with his arsenal of media vehicles. And in particular, he is harshly criticized for his role in his magazines' unconditional support of Chiang Kai-shek and his governing Nationalist party during the pre-war, World War II, and Chinese civil war eras. So blind was Luce and *Time* that they failed to see the increasing corruption and incompetence of the regime and failed to even consider the successes the rival Chinese Communists were having rallying the peasants and fighting against the Japanese.

W.A. Swanberg is one of the leading critics of Luce. The author condemns Luce for his personal use of his media empire to sway Americans toward support of the Chinese Nationalists calling the media of Time, Inc. "propaganda vehicles for the Nationalist government of Chiang."[5]

Sterling Seagrave, another critic, is similarly harsh in his criticism of Luce and the uncritical, supportive and voluminous coverage given to Chiang by *Time*. In his book, *The Soong Dynasty*, Seagrave disdains Luce's use of *Time* to propagate his views on

[5] Swanberg, 6.

China. Seagrave's view is that Luce and *Time* were complicit in supporting the increasingly corrupt Nationalist regime and fostering a whitewashed perception of Chiang and the Nationalists.[6] Crucial to constructing that image of Chiang were the eleven *Time* magazine covers featuring Chiang, his wife, or both from April 1927 to April 1955.[7] Plus, the Chiangs were selected as *Time* magazine's "Man and Wife of the Year" for the January 3, 1938 issue, which included a cover and feature article.[8]

Christopher Jespersen writes that Luce and *Time* portrayed Chiang as "China's political and spiritual savior" while denigrating Mao and the Communists.[9] For Luce, Chiang provided the key linkage between the American people and the United States' willingness to aid China with money and resources. Perhaps Jespersen's views on Luce are best captured in his evaluation of Luce's role as a journalist: "He took it as his duty not simply to relate world events but to educate Americans on their responsibilities. He was not a reporter; he was a preacher, and he sermonized on behalf of China."[10]

There are several other scholars who while still critical have slightly more moderate views on Luce and his use of his media to influence Americans about China and General Chiang. Patricia Neils, writing in *China Images in the Life and Times of Henry Luce*, asserts that it was indeed Luce and *Time* that first recognized the potential

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[6] Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 232.

[7] Chiang appeared, for the final time, on the *Time* cover of the April 18, 1955 issue. This would be the tenth time he appeared on the cover. In addition, Madame Chiang was featured on the cover, by herself, for the March 1, 1943 issue.

[8] Donald J. Lehnus, *Who's On Time* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1980), 42.

[9] Christopher T. Jespersen, *American Images of China: 1931 – 1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 43-44.

[10] Jespersen, 43.

impact of Chiang for America by labeling Chiang the "second Sun Yat-sen" and placing him on the cover for the first time on the April 4, 1927 issue.[11]

Other moderate authors, such as James L. Baughman, note that Luce and Time, Inc. media were one voice among many but by sheer volume of favorable coverage were successful in keeping China and Chiang near the top of the public agenda when there were many competing forces for American government funds.[12] Robert Herzstein criticizes Luce for fully supporting Chiang and his Nationalists even when the corruption and deceit of the regime and its leaders became clear. Competing alternatives such as the Communists and their leader, Mao, were all but ignored by the magazine.[13]

Other work by writers and academics has centered on different but related areas of news magazines. For example, one study looked at how the three major weekly news magazines covered Chiang Kai-shek and Mao from 1949 to 1976. Daniel Riffe and Yu Yang-Chou explored "topic emphasis" in covering the two leaders as well as whether the "favorableness" of the coverage varied as United States policy became more favorable toward Mao and China and less so toward Chiang and Taiwan. Overall, the findings reveal that coverage of Mao became both less unfavorable and more objective over time as the United States' policy toward China became more engaged. In sum, this research looked at how news magazines' content reflects United States national policy. The premise of the research for this

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[11] Patricia Neils, *China Images in the Life and Times of Henry Luce* (Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990), 292-294.

[12] James L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Boston: Twayne, 1987), 156.

[13] Herzstein, 419.

paper is if and how the influence of a powerful owner affects coverage of events by his media empire.[14]

Overall, perhaps Michael Hunt best captures how Luce perceived himself, his media empire, America's national mission, and journalism's role in furthering that mission, particularly in the case of China:

> As a publisher, he would think of himself as a preacher-educator, imparting to his readers information but, even more important, moral direction. It left him with a deep and abiding conviction that China was a fit, indeed prime target for American uplift. The Chinese hungered for what the United States had to offer – whether models of political and economic development, religious faith, or diplomatic and military support – and Americans had a categorical obligation to satisfy that hunger.[15]

In sum, the previous scholars and authors are highly critical of Luce himself and his use of Time, Inc. to propagate his worldviews, particularly in the case of supporting Chiang and the Nationalist party in China at the expense of rival factions, individuals, such as Mao, and ideologies. But did these Luce journalistic and nationalistic values so permeate his Time, Inc. organization that they endured even after Luce left active participation in the organization?

Research Question

The question with which this paper is concerned is whether or not *Time*'s coverage during the early, most intense part of the Cultural Revolution differs from *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*. Specifically, do *Time*'s portrayals of Mao,

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[14] Yu Yang-Chou and Daniel Riffle, "Chiang and Mao in U.S. News Magazines," *Journalism Quarterly* 66 (Winter 1989): 913 – 919.

[15] Michael H. Hunt, "East Asia in Henry Luce's 'American Century,'" *Diplomatic History* 23, No. 2 (Spring 1999): 321-353.

the Cultural Revolution, and China itself differ from those of the other two news magazines thus possibly reflecting the fiercely nationalistic and anti-Communist views of its founder and owner, Henry Luce, even after Luce had officially left Time, Inc.?

Method

This paper looks at coverage of China, using the method of qualitative content analysis, from the three primary news magazines in the United States, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, from April 1966 through December 1967. This period covers the initial start of the Cultural Revolution with the publication of an article in the April 2, 1966 issue of the *People's Daily* written by Chi Pen-yu entitled "The Reactionary Content in 'Hai Jui Insults the Emperor' and 'Dismissal of Hai Jui'" until December 1967, the end of the first full year of the revolution.

Notes on News Magazines' Coverage of the Cultural Revolution

Covering China during the Cultural Revolution was a massive challenge. For all three news magazines, reporting operations were based in their Hong Kong bureaus. These bureaus typically had two to three reporters, an interpreter, and a secretary. For the most part, North American reporters were not allowed in China because the country had employed a set of severe restrictions against entrance. Thus, basing someone in China for American publications was virtually impossible. On the other hand, Europeans, for example German and Italian reporters, were able to cover the country basing their efforts in Beijing.[16] There was one exception, Canadian David Oancia, who was the only non-

[16] Discussion and correspondence with Jay Matthews of the Washington Post, March 2002.

Communist North American reporter allowed to use the mainland as a base. Occasionally, he contributed to *Time* magazine. Otherwise, American reporters, unless the person happened to be the famous Communist sympathizer, Edgar Snow, had to sneak in the country using a tourist visa for entrance.[17]

Thus, in order to provide content for the magazines' coverage of China and feed the burgeoning American appetite for news about China, stories for the news magazines had to be pieced together from various sources such as official Chinese government publications like the *People's Daily*, Chinese radio broadcasts, the accounts from tourists and refugees, and reports from European correspondents. Stanley Karnow, who covered China as a *Time*, *Life*, and *Washington Post* correspondent, also cited Red Guard publications such as pamphlets, posters, handbills, and newspapers as providing insight to the chaotic events occurring during the Cultural Revolution.[18] For *Time* magazine during the 1960s, there were three reporters, based in Hong Kong, pulling together this information and providing the coverage of China for *Time* readership: Frank McCulloch, Karsten Prager, and Arthur Zich.[19]

Findings - *Time* Magazine

There are several key findings that stand out about *Time*'s coverage of China in 1966 and 1967. First, while this study is not intended to measure *quantity* of coverage, it is instructive to note that there is an article on China appearing almost each week during

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[17] "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 13 January 1967, 1.

[18] Stanley Karnow, *Mao and China* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), xiii.

[19] "A Letter from the Publisher," 1.

the time period under study, thus placing China high on the American public's agenda. This high level of coverage is notable because of the difficulties confronting the media in covering China. Clearly, *Time* was intent on telling the story of China and the Cultural Revolution to the American people. The volume and consistency of coverage is similar to *Time*'s coverage of China during the late 1940s, perhaps a remnant of the Henry Luce legacy that remained over the years.

Second, holding true to its stated mission written over forty years ago, *Time*'s coverage of China during this time period of study is highly personality driven.[20] For the most part, the story of China and the Cultural Revolution is told through the lens of the leading individuals of the government. Many of the articles focus on Mao and other leaders such as Lin Piao, Liu Chao-shi, and Chou En-lai. For *Time*, these are the faces of China and the Cultural Revolution. Plus, a significant amount of the coverage is devoted to describing the internal conflicts among the key leaders in the government. For example, for the September 9, 1966 issue, Defense Minister Lin Piao is featured on the cover and in the accompanying five-page article, which details the situation in China and emphasizes the emergence of Piao over Lui Shao-shi as heir apparent to Mao. This practice of placing key leaders on the cover is certainly not unique for *Time* as this particular cover marks the fifteenth time a Chinese Communist leader or collection of leaders has been featured on the cover of *Time* since the Communist party takeover in October 1949.[21]

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[20] From the beginning, a crucial element of *Time* was the recognition that news is made by individuals and not institutions, thus *Time* would attempt to bring individual personalities to life. The original *Time* prospectus asserts, "The personalities of politics make public affairs live." Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 334.

[21] "A Letter from the Publisher," 1.

Third, the substance and tone of the coverage is straightforward, objective and for the most part free of the verbal stabs and editorializing for which *Time* was so criticized for its coverage of China during the 1940s. Gone are the shameless, condescending descriptions of Mao and the Communists, the gushing coverage of Chiang and the Nationalists,[22] and the general flouting of journalism's most cherished tenets. In short, the coverage appears to be agenda-free.

Finally and perhaps most important for this paper, *Time*'s construction or portrayals of Mao, China, and the Cultural Revolution differs only slightly from the other news magazines. This consistency of coverage among the news magazines either indicates a common journalistic approach to the subjects or the absence of a predetermined agenda driving the coverage.

Mao

Mao is no stranger to the covers and pages of *Time* magazine. From October 1949 to January 1967, Mao appeared on the cover and in the accompanying feature article a total of eight times.[23] For this study, once Mao reemerged from his six months of isolation in 1966,[24] *Time* portrays him as the undisputed leader of China and the inspirational force and driver of the Cultural Revolution. Gone almost completely are the

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[22] *Time* placed Chiang on the cover a total of ten times from 1927 to 1955 and named him and his wife "Man & Wife of the Year" for 1937. *Time* once called him "His Excellency Generalissimo" and "unquestionably the greatest man in the Far East." "Generalissimo's Last Straw," *Time*, 11 December 1933, 20. "Chiang Dares," *Time*, 9 November 1936, 18.

[23] In fact, in his lifetime, Mao was featured on *Time*'s front cover and lead article a total of twelve times. Lehnus, 131.

[24] Beginning in November 1965, Mao spent approximately six months away from public view.

acerbic references, denigrating descriptions, and snide characterizations of Mao and the Communists that were so prominent in *Time*'s coverage during the 1930s and 1940s.

The exception to this characterization of Mao as preeminent leader is during the six-month period in which Mao retreated from public view. Here, *Time* speculates in a number of issues on his health and his status as leader within the government. *Time* writes, "Last week, Sinologists were speculating that Mao was seriously ill. At 72, Mao is ailing and overweight, smokes two packs of cigarettes a day, and suffers either from Parkinson's disease or the symptomatically similar aftereffects of a cerebral hemorrhage. He is also believed to have a liver ailment."[25] There are also several articles that propose various scenarios regarding challenges to Mao's rule such as the internal government positioning done by Liu Shao-shi and Lin Piao to be Mao's successor. This sort of speculation by *Time* was not uncommon during the early part of 1966 when many were guessing about Mao's status.

Once Mao reemerges in May 1966, he is clearly positioned on the pages of *Time* as being in full control of the government and country. In reinforcing Mao's renewed presence and power, *Time* readily reports on Mao's famous swim in the Yangtze supported by glowing comments from observers on the excellent health of the leader.[26] *Time* even records that the ever genial and genteel Mao politely offers a young lady instruction in the proper techniques of the backstroke. Further, *Time* writes that Mao's time away from public view was simply used to study China's current economic, political, and social situation in order to formulate a plan with which to move the country

[25] "The Weeds and the Flowers," *Time*, 13 May 1966, 34.

[26] "The Great Splash Forward," *Time*, 5 August 1966, 27.

forward. In sum, according to *Time*, the great leader simply stepped away temporarily, perhaps on a sabbatical-like absence, to recharge and rethink his plan for the long-term good of the country.

Additionally, Mao is portrayed by *Time* as a shrewd strategist. Having grown frustrated with the morass of bureaucrats ensconced comfortably in government positions and shrouded with privilege and access, he outflanks them by going straight to the youth to execute his revolution. He alone is portrayed as the creator and mastermind behind the Red Guards.[27] *Time* establishes this solid link between Mao and the Red Guards referring to the Red Guards as "Mao's Red Guards," "Mao's own forces of Red Guards,"[28] or "Mao's fulminating Red Guards"[29] Ultimately for *Time*, Mao is the master puppeteer.

However, perhaps the magazine found it difficult to refrain completely from its old habits from the 1940s as *Time* does treat Mao irreverently at times. In a section labeled "Puffed Mao," regarding his return to public life in May 1966, *Time* writes, "Mao's reappearance also had some spurious elements to it. Out of sight for six months and reportedly ailing from either a stroke or a heart attack, the Chinese ruler suddenly turned up....Despite his hearty grin, Mao seemed unnaturally bloated."[30] It should be noted again that this sort of characterization is unique for the coverage during the mid 1960s.

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[27] "Into the Dustbin! Onto the Garbage Heap!" *Time*, 14 April 1967, 40.

[28] "Peking's Big Blast," *Time*, 23 June 1967, 28.

[29] "Back to the Cave!" *Time*, 9 September 1966, 28.

[30] "Peking Opera," *Time*, 20 May 1966, 36.

Ultimately, *Time* firmly places blame for the entire revolutionary fiasco on Mao. "Much of the damage to China's position has been done by Mao's inflexibility. The Puritanism and self-hypnosis that were born on the Long March and nurtured in the caves of Yenan have become an obsession. Aging and ailing, Mao now insists on seeing his philosophy through to the final victory – or final defeat."[31]

And most revealing for *Time*, is the fact that almost all the coverage dedicated to China is mainland or Mao based. There are very few articles or even references to Chiang Kai-shek and Taiwan in the content of *Time* articles reviewed for this paper. When considering the massive investment made in covering Chiang during the 1940s and the sheer amount of coverage dedicated to Chiang and the Nationalists, this is a highly revealing finding. Mao and his revolution have in effect marginalized Chiang and his Nationalists on the pages of *Time*.

Cultural Revolution

While *Time* had been reporting for several months on the events gripping the country, the first specific reference to the "Cultural Revolution" was in the August 26, 1966 issue.[32] And the magazine provides an early prognosis for the revolution's prospects determining that it is a poor substitute for the real problems plaguing China. *Time* writes, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the product of desperation and is unlikely to solve Red China's problems of backward industries and a famine-prone agricultural system. It seems incredible that Mao might have forgotten so soon, but the

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[31] "Back to the Cave!" 32.

[32] "The Dear Comrade," *Time*, 26 August 1966, 16.

last time Red China tried a Great Leap Forward, it set the country back a full ten years."[33] This assessment by *Time* begins a long running commentary on the ills and consequences of the Cultural Revolution.

Specifically, *Time* continues this coverage in weekly pieces as well as in several feature articles. For example, the cover of the September 9, 1966 issue frames the event as the "The Chinese Nightmare." This issue includes a multi-page article that describes the Cultural Revolution as a "convulsion of historic proportion."[34] Providing vivid and real life examples of the hysteria, *Time* writes:

> There, the Red Guards were running riot. Into a Canton barbershop burst a squad of Red Guards, accusing the barbers of using 'capitalist-smelling' pomade. The barbers struck back, and two teenage Guards fell, slashed to death. In a Peking side street, a woman wept as her neighbor was led away – but she was weeping for joy. The old man had once hired her for the humiliating duty of wet-nursing his children. To compound the nightmare, the Red Guards were striking at many of the things that the Chinese have always respected. Buddhist shrines were defaced; schools were ordered closed for six months (to revise curriculums along purely Maoist lines). Respect for womanhood and religion was forcibly forgotten.[35]

Time's framing of the Cultural Revolution is not just about the chaos of the moment. The magazine insightfully recognizes the impact this mass destruction will have on China's future economic prospects, from both an industrial and agricultural standpoint. The following succinctly captures the magazine's assessment of how the revolution will affect the future of China. *Time* writes, "To the men who care about

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[33] "The Dear Comrade," 16.

[34] "Back to the Cave!" 28.

[35] "Back to the Cave!" 28.

China's future and want to bring it into the modern world of comparative well-being and technology, the revolution threatens to sweep all the painful achievements of nearly 20 years into the dustbin and consign China to a dark age of mindless communal litanies and Mao sun worshipping."[36]

Perhaps *Time*'s view of the chaos gripping China is best summed up in the pithy phrase the magazine uses to describe the revolution in its November 1966 issue, the "Great proletarian traffic jam."[37]

China

While *Time*'s coverage of the country itself is largely centered on the extraordinary political and social events convulsing inside the country, the magazine also devotes numerous pages to the resulting isolation from its natural allies and the fear this internal upheaval has engendered among its neighbors.

The destructive nature of the Cultural Revolution has caused many of China's Communist allied nations to shun the country, thus isolating it from the rest of the Communist world. For example, *Time* echoes the intense criticism emanating from Eastern Europe. In an article entitled, "Appalling & Alone," *Time* writes:

> As no other major nation in modern times, Red China stands alone, with other Communists countries possibly even more appalled by its actions than anyone else. Even the Communists of Eastern Europe, who in the past were content to condone China's aberrations in order to gain more leverage from the Sino-Soviet split, are now roundly denouncing the Red Chinese as "insane." Hungarian Communist Boss Janos Kadar calls the events in China a

[36] "Dance of the Scorpion," *Time*, 13 January 1967, 23.

[37] "Is This Trip Necessary?" *Time*, 18 November 1966, 48.

> "national tragedy." East Germany has accused the Red Chinese of "encouraging the cult of Mao to boundless excesses."[38]

Clearly, among their Communist brethren, China is without sympathizers, even horrifying the Soviets. "The Russians were almost breathless in their shock at the events in China. *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were providing some of the most detailed – and accurate – reports as the Red Guards continued their odd operations. The whole Cultural Revolution, charged Izvestia last week, is a 'monstrous discreditation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.'"[39]

Another important element in *Time*'s characterization of China is the possible consequence to others of the potential collapse of the country's social order. *Time* positions China as having been plunged into total chaos and confusion. Insanity rules and disorder reigns.[40] This chaos not only has immense implications for the lives of the average Chinese, but for the people of other countries as well. In essence, the danger is heightened because it represents the threat of spilling over China's borders and possibly affecting neighbors.[41] *Time* writes that China is basically an insecure regime, bound on constantly criticizing other countries[42] and armed with a potent collection of atom bombs. Having agreed at the 1955 Bandung conference to seek "peaceful coexistence" with its fellow Asian countries, China now is perceived as the boisterous bully, an unruly country

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[38] "Appalling & Alone," *Time*, 30 September 1966, 28.

[39] "Appalling & Alone," 28.

[40] "Peking's Big Blast," 28.

[41] "The Edge of Chaos," *Time*, 4 August 1967, 23 – 26.

[42] "A Great Week for Insults," *Time*, 22 September, 1967, 30.

ready to swing its nuclear elbows around the Asian neighborhood.[43] *Time*'s sentiments about China are best captured by the description, "thrashing Goliath."[44]

Findings - *Newsweek*

The *Newsweek* coverage is best defined by its focus on the *events* and *actions* of the Cultural Revolution, which is in contrast to *Time*'s emphasis on personalities or telling the story of the revolution through individuals. In other words, the *Newsweek* coverage is similar to what would be expected in newspapers; the straight reporting of events as they occur. It provides a fairly straight chronology of events; a series of reports revealing news as it happens. This is not to say that *Newsweek* does not provide any personality features or in-depth information on the Chinese leadership, but its reporting is a reflection of the more event-based, linear approach toward covering the revolution.

Perhaps what is most revealing about the coverage are the similarities between *Time* and *Newsweek* in portraying the key figures and occurrences. There is very little difference in how both news magazines frame Mao, the Cultural Revolution, and China. This is not surprising since all news magazines, given the strict rules regarding American reporters' access to the mainland, were forced to rely on similar sources for information. Other than reporting the weekly news, the magazines were limited in their abilities to break big stories unless those stories came through the predictable channels, generally available to most news providers.

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[43] "Overflowing Revolution," *Time*, 28 July 1967, 20 – 21.

[44] "Dance of the Scorpion," 23.

Regarding the portrayal of Mao, most of the same qualities and attributes used by *Time* to characterize Mao are also used by *Newsweek*. Mao is clearly the preeminent leader of the country, the author and force of the revolution, and carries the responsibility for the hysteria unleashed. There is perhaps one subtle difference in the coverage. *Newsweek* tends to emphasize the role and influence of Mao Thought versus Mao himself. For example, the magazine explains the ideas of Mao Thought and the persuasive, if not hypnotic, hold it has over the Red Guards and others. The magazine recounts the amazing feats that can be achieved if properly infused with the wisdom of Mao. Armed with the potency of Mao Thought, locomotives run faster and steady, burn wounds heal faster, rice is cooked quicker, the table-tennis team improves, and chicken feathers can ascend to heaven.[45] Thus, for *Newsweek*, it is not so much Mao himself being central in the news but how his thinking and words are shaking the foundations of the country.

Similarly, *Newsweek* frames the country and the revolution in much the same way as *Time*. The country is portrayed as a caldron of confusion and contradiction destabilizing the entire economic, political, and social infrastructure. If there is a difference in coverage, and it is a slight one, it is that *Newsweek* goes just a bit further in classifying the mayhem of the revolution as being close to "civil war."[46] Indeed, other adjectives used to describe the situation reinforce *Newsweek*'s portrayal as more dire than *Time* such as "a vast and ominous tumult"[47] and "complete chaos."[48]

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[45] "No Ordinary Swim," *Newsweek*, 8 August 1966, 36-40.

[46] "China: 'A State of Civil War,'" *Newsweek*, 30 January 30 1967, 32.

[47] "China: A Vast and Ominous Tumult," *Newsweek*, January 23 1967, 40.

[48] "China: 'A State of Civil War,'" 32.

Additionally, like *Time*, *Newsweek* casts China as the Asian problem child, armed with the nuclear weapons and likely to threaten adjacent countries, particularly the Soviet Union. *Newsweek* writes, "Nowhere was the concern for the chaos in China more evident than in the Soviet Union, which shares a 3,000-mile border with China and whose leaders have looked on with rising apprehension as Peking's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution progressed steadily from one extreme to the next."[49]

Findings - *U.S. News & World Report*

U.S. News & World Report's overall approach to the coverage of Mao, China, and the Cultural Revolution is fundamentally different from that provided by *Time* and *Newsweek*. *U.S. News & World Report* coverage does not focus on the individual players in the drama. It is not about personalities. The coverage is also not focused on following and reporting each event as they occur from week to week; the coverage is not designed for a reader to follow events chronologically. *U.S. News & World Report* provides readers with something very different than what both *Time* and *Newsweek* offer.

Overall, the coverage from *U.S. News & World Report* is about providing in-depth analysis and placing events in a much larger frame or context in which these events are occurring. Specifically, there are three elements of the coverage from *U.S. News & World Report* that stand out. First, the coverage centers on analyzing events rather than the simple reporting of events. For example, *U.S. News & World Report* explores the potential threat of China to the countries of the world in a piece entitled, "How Dangerous is Red China?" It looks at the country's relationship with both the Untied

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[49] "China: A Vast and Ominous Tumult," 40.

States and Soviet Union, its growing isolation vis-à-vis other Communist countries, the stability of the Red Army, the potential for economic and social implosion, and the prospects for bringing China into the United Nations.[50] The piece is a careful analysis incorporating facts, data, and quotes to support the assertions made. Substantively and tonally, this coverage is in a different category from that of *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Second, the information about China is presented from a geopolitical perspective. The coverage is not China centric, but more of how events in China affect its relationship with other countries. In one article featuring an interview with Colonel Michel Garder of the French Institute of Strategic Studies, growing tensions between China and Soviet Russia are explored with a special emphasis on how this growing division will affect the United States.[51] And then in December 1966, in an article entitled, "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," *U.S. News & World Report* looks at how the chaos of China plus the troubles of other Communist nations or parties have exposed the fundamental weaknesses of the ideology and present opportunities for the democracies of the world.[52]

Third, from the standpoint of content, there is a tremendous emphasis on China's development and testing of a nuclear arsenal and the impact that program will have on the United States. Granted, the other news magazines covered China's testing of atom bombs, but these reports were often embedded in articles about other issues. *U.S. News & World Report* elevates the issue of the development and testing of nuclear weapons to a major focus. In one article, the magazine explores the question of whether the United

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[50] "How Dangerous is Red China?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 4 April 1966, 29-31.

[51] "Russia vs. China," *U.S. News & World Report*, 29 August 1966, 50.

[52] "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 December 1966, 59-63.

States should spend thirty billion dollars on the construction of an anti-missile defense system, the "Nike-X" system containing "Nike-Zeus and Sprint solid fuel missiles," that could save millions of American lives in the case of a nuclear attack by either the Soviet Union or China. The article points out that one of the key drivers in this debate is the emergence of China as a nuclear threat since the country has successfully tested several atoms bombs, coupled with the country's ambitions to move up to the hydrogen bomb class.[53]

Another way in which the *U.S. News & World Report* coverage is different is the use of third party expertise in its reporting on China. This tool adds the crucial element of credibility to the magazine's coverage. There are a number of examples of this. In the November 7, 1966 issue, in a piece called, "A First-Hand Report on Red China Today," there is an interview with Miao Chen-pai, a defector from China.[54] In July 1966, the Defense Minister of "Free China," General Chiang Ching-kuo, provides his thoughts on the tumultuous events going on in the mainland in "Why the Turmoil Inside Red China?"[55]

Regarding the portrayal of Mao, simply by virtue of the lack of volume of coverage of Mao compared to *Time* and *Newsweek*, there is a much less vivid picture of the man. Certainly, there are several characteristics that emerge out of this coverage. While there is much less of the speculation about Mao's status during the period in which he retreated from the public view, *U.S. News & World Report* does interpret events

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[53] "70 Million Lives At Stake," *U.S. News & World Report*, 23 May 1966, 48-52.

[54] "A First-Hand Report on Red China Today," *U.S. News & World Report*, 7 July 1966, 58-61.

[55] "Why the Turmoil Inside Red China?" *U.S. News & World Report*, 12 September 1966, 33-34.

slightly differently than the two rival news magazines. The magazine asserts that Mao is rapidly losing power to rivals in the party and claims that Mao's close associates in the party are using his "thoughts" to create a cult of Mao, which will allow them to maintain their prestige, position, and power in the government. *U.S. News & World Report* labels this effort as the "deification" of Mao. "If Mao's 'godliness' is established, the reasoning goes, no Chinese will dare go against his 'thought' – or his anointed successors – any time soon....Mao's deification is expected to continue against the background of an orderly transfer of power to his friends. For this reason, U.S. experts see little chance of change in Chinese policy after Mao is completely out of the picture – no change for at least five to 10 years."[56]

In *U.S. News & World Report*, the most prominent characteristic of Mao is his willingness to lead his country away from the sphere of global, Soviet-led Communism. This portrayal is consistent with the editorial focus of its China coverage stressing broader geopolitical issues. The magazine writes that Mao is directly challenging the Soviet leadership.[57]

Regarding the reports on China and Cultural Revolution, the magazine provides similar downbeat assessments of those provided by *Time* and *Newsweek*. However, there are several subtle differences. *U.S. News & World Report* portrays the country's situation as being perhaps more dire and hopeless than the other news magazines. For example *U.S. News & World Report* succinctly writes, "Red China is a mess."[58] And that the

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[56] "Red China's God," *U.S. News & World Report*, 23 May 1966, 14.

[57] "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," 59.

[58] "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," 59.

Cultural Revolution is a "disastrous failure."[59] Plus, the future is even bleaker with the country "fast approaching national disintegration....The downward plunge into anarchy has not been arrested, and the near future remains obscure."[60] But unlike the other two news magazines, *U.S. News & World Report* recognizes that other problems are at work. Citing the relentless growth in population, the magazine concludes that the country will soon have to struggle to feed almost one billion people.[61] Plus, the transportation system has been disrupted, industrial production has slowed due to problems such as strikes and work stoppages, and agricultural output has stagnated.[62]

But the crucial difference is that while *Time* and *Newsweek* cite the Cultural Revolution as having generated the chaos that has sent the country's prospects spiraling downward, *U.S. News & World Report* blames Communism in general. In other words, the reader is left with the impression that even if the Cultural Revolution had not occurred, this massive country would still not be able to manage itself, particularly in the areas of the economy and feeding its own people. "Russia, too, after nearly 50 years of trial, has found that Communism is a failure as a system that cannot compete with a modern system of private enterprise to produce and distribute goods for masses with rising aspirations."[63] Perhaps the following statement captures the magazine's sentiments best: "Big cracks are turning up in a Red empire once supposed to be marching to world

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[59] "The Growing Mystery of Communist China," *U.S. News & World Report*, 22 August 1966, 38.

[60] "As Red China Plunges Deeper into Chaos," *U.S. News & World Report*, 2 October 1966, 36-38.

[61] "The Growing Mystery of Communist China," 36.

[62] "As Red China Plunges Deeper into Chaos," 36.

[63] "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," 59.

conquest. Troubles in one country after another reveal failure on a colossal scale, a steady decline in Communism's appeal to the masses of the world."[64]

Summary and Conclusions

Three general findings emerge from this content analysis. First, perhaps driven by their respective missions or by market realities, the general character of the coverage by the three news magazines differs. *U.S. News & World Report* has carved out a niche in the news magazine market by positioning itself as the magazine that provides the in-depth analysis of news events versus simply reporting the news in a weekly, departmentalized format. *Time* records events largely through the individuals and personalities that drive these events. *Newsweek*'s coverage is characterized by straight reporting of events with less of an emphasis on key individuals. In short, *Time* and *Newsweek* primarily tell what happened and who was involved while *U.S. News & World Report* tends to tell why events have happened and what the impact could be.

Second, regarding quantity of coverage, all three news magazines devote a substantial amount of pages each week to the covering of China, particularly in the case of *Time* and *Newsweek*. Both of these magazines provide almost weekly coverage of events on the mainland, which is significant given the obstacles that had to be overcome to report on the country. But the volume of coverage from all three news magazines' assures that China and issues related to the United States' relations with the country are near the top of the public agenda.

And third, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. New & World Report*'s portrayals of Mao, China, and the Cultural Revolution are generally similar. Overall, Mao is positioned as

[64] "Communism: World's Greatest Failure," 59.

the country's undisputed leader and inspiration for the Cultural Revolution, the disastrous effort at redirecting the country, which has pummeled the social and economic infrastructure into near collapse and has served to isolate the country from even its Communists allies. However, *U.S. News & World Report* does question the certainty of Mao's position and tends to blame Communism in general, versus the Cultural Revolution, for China's demise.

This third finding signals a major shift in direction and tone of coverage for *Time* magazine, at least compared to the 1930s and 1940s. There are none of the excessive verbal shots at Mao or Communism that critics so disdained in *Time*'s earlier coverage of the Chinese civil war, particularly in the 1940s. *Time* covers the country much like it would any other country. The "agenda" is simply not there, and the animosity that so defined *Time*'s tone is gone. As noted, there are some hints of the old rancor directed at Mao, but it is far from the previous coverage. It is difficult to criticize *Time*'s coverage when many of the descriptions of Mao, the revolution, and China are consistent with the other two news magazines and with historical accounts of the movement. Thus, the differences in coverage that so defined *Time* magazine's coverage versus its two competitors in the 1940s no longer exist.

The primary research question is directed at learning whether or not the previous fiercely anti-Communist approach, so well personified and practiced by Henry Luce, still existed in *Time*'s China coverage during the mid to late 1960s, once Luce had backed away from most of his duties. The answer is a resounding "no." While respecting the news magazines' differences in overall approach to the coverage, there is little difference in the characterizations of Mao, the Cultural Revolution, and China revealing that there is

little evidence of a fiercely anti-Communist angle in the tone and substance of the coverage. *Time*'s reporting simply does not standout from the other two.

Then, what can we conclude were the contributing factors to this leveling effect of the coverage and the absence of *Time*'s previous disdain directed at Communist China? Probably, there are several factors. Certainly, America had a better educated, more well-informed, and more politically astute populace in the late 1960s than in the 1940s. It is difficult to believe that this more sophisticated audience would be willingly put up with the preaching, didactic, and condescending tone of the 1940's *Time* magazine.

Also, the sheer expansion of media in the 1960s compared to mid century negates the possibility that a single media outlet could heavily influence both the American public's agenda and perceptions. It simply would have been more difficult to present credibly an agenda laden view of the news. In the 1960s, radio and television networks were well-developed and providing news instantaneously to the home. The number of magazines was increasing. Americans simply had many more choices for news than before thus providing an automatic and natural check on the presentation of news.

Further, in the 1960s, the change in leadership at Time Inc., particularly *Time* magazine, must have had an impactful and almost immediate change in the weekly creation of the company's publications and the overall personality of the corporation. According to the findings of this study, Luce's anti-Communist legacy and remaining influence as owner and "editorial chairman" did not have a cascading effect or lasting halo effect on the output of *Time*. In fact, Luce's successor as editor-in-chief for all the Time, Inc. publications, Hedley Donovan, evidently having little tolerance for some of *Time*'s previous practices and reputation, only accepted the editor-in-chief job on the

basis that all the magazines would be "politically independent." This certainly signaled a change in editorial approach for the magazines.

For *Time* magazine specifically, this would be a total change. Author and former *Time* editor Thomas Griffin captures the essence of the old *Time* or what he calls "judgmental journalism" in the following statement: "From day one, thirty years earlier, *Time* had been an opinionated magazine, crackling with prejudices, designed to irritate and amuse as well as to instruct, and providing dozens of small pleasures to those who crafted its irreverent judgments."[65] Indeed, Donovan was going to be forging a very different legacy at Time, Inc publications.

But perhaps the most influential factor affecting the *Time* magazine news reporting and coverage was simply the change in the role of news media in our society. As Griffith writes, "Like the rest of American journalism, the Luce magazines were becoming fairer, freer of partisanship, and devoid of passion. In time they would become parts of a vast conglomerate whose primary goal was profit, and whose primary interest was entertainment. A similar change would come over the great television networks once their bold, innovating, domineering founders had left the scene."[66]

Thus, the coverage of *Time* was merely part of a paradigm shift in news coverage in general. Gone were the days when the press barons and media moguls like Henry Luce and William Hearst dictated the approach and direction of the news output churned out by their vast media empires. The profit motive and shareholder value were and are the key drivers of what is covered and presented to the American public. And the goal to

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[65] Thomas Griffith, *Harry and Teddy* (New York: Random House, 1995), 271.

[66] Griffith, 278.

maximize profit will perhaps continue to drive the homogenization of coverage and influence of the news. Perhaps history will determine which is the more effective model.

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Gender Images in Global Versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*

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Gender Images in Global Versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*

Abstract

This study explores the gender images displayed in global versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*. Non-advertising pictures of people in eight zoned versions of *GQ* are content analyzed. The study finds that the *GQ* depicts its men and women "glocally." Each version prefers young male models to different degrees. Males are less explicitly exposed than female models, and females show more subordinate markers than males in each version.

Gender Images in Global Versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*

Abstract

This study explores the gender images displayed in global versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*. Non-advertising pictures of people in eight zoned versions of *GQ* are content analyzed. The study finds that the *GQ* depicts its men and women "glocally." Two hypotheses are supported. Gender images are explicitly sexual in zoned versions of *GQ* to different degrees (H1). Gender subordination depicted in zoned versions of *GQ* will differ (H2). Each version prefers young male models to different degrees. The most popular races for male models, depending on edition, are Asian or white. Males are less explicitly exposed than female models, and females show more subordinate markers than males in each version. Slim males and females are popular in *GQ*. Most versions have young celebrities with slim body shape on the cover.

Gender Images in Global Versions of *Gentlemen's Quarterly*

Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, with the development of the global economy, media internationalization has escalated. In addition to broadcast and newspaper media, many magazines include global advertising campaign (Jones, 2000). For example, *Marie Claire* had reached 28 global markets by 1999; *Esquire* had launched about 10 global versions in Europe, Asia and America by 1999 ("Going local: advertisers reward media that customize for readers and viewers," 1999). Although women's globalized magazines may be more evident on newsstands, men's magazines cannot be ignored. There are many famous global names, such as *FHM, Playboy, Esquire, GQ (Gentlemen's Quarterly), Maxim,* and *Men's Health* (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, 2003). Although they have different editing foci, going global is their common strategy. Moreover, according to one expert's prediction, this globalization trend will continue in 2003, especially the push to "go east" (Caperton, 2003, p.33).

Although *GQ* and *Esquire* are competitors today, *GQ* was established in 1950s by *Esquire* and was sold to Conde Nast in 1979 ("Media through the decades,"1995). The founder of Conde Nast Publications, Inc., Conde Nast, was a "class publications" pursuer, which targeted special groups providing "exciting, timely information on arts, politics and entertainment" (http://histclo.hispeed.com/bio/n/bio-nast.html, 13 February 2003). Now Conde Nast belongs to S. I. Newhouse's Advances Publications (http://www1.excite.com/home/carrers/company_profile/0,15623,1362,00.html, 13 February 2003), but the aim of "class publications" has not changed. Conde Nast

Publications now has various lifestyle magazines, including *Vogue, Self, Allure, Traveler, GQ, Gourmet, Vanity Fair, Modern Bride,* and *Glamour,* which focus on beauty, fashion, career, sex and lifestyles. Some of them have markets globally. *GQ*, Conde Nast's notable product, has launched global versions in some countries and regions, including the U.S., U.K., Italy, Germany, Spain, Korea, Russia, Portugal, South Africa and Taiwan, which are published respectively in American English, British English, Italian, German, Spanish, Korean, Russian, Portuguese, South Africa language and Chinese (*Gentlemen's Quarterly*, Russian version, January issue, 2003). The American English *GQ* has a circulation figure of 757,558 (http://www.srds.com/cgi-bin/srds/comm, 11 February 2003), while the zoned versions also have many readers. For example, the German *GQ* has a circulation of 90,470 (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, 2003, p.2211); the British English *GQ* has a circulation of 126, 227 (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, 2003, p.2211).

Although most of these global versions are printed in different languages in different physical sizes, and distributed in different zones, they have the same readers---young men---, and the same theme---lifestyle and fashion. For example, the British English *GQ*, established in 1988, is described as "where men turn to when they're thinking about food, fashion, sports and women," while the German *GQ,* established in 1984, is defined as a "lifestyle and fashion magazine for men," and the flagship American English *GQ* covers "men's fashion; includes interviews, economic advice, health issues, food, and travel" (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, 2003, p.2211). *GQ* aims to give advice on "how to address, how to package yourself, how to light a cigar, how

to pick financial stocks, every facet of what makes a man a gentleman" (Pogrebin, 1996).

The debate on localization versus uniformity is a key question. For example, *Newsweek* has a strict format requirement for its English international versions. Firstly, these international versions may have different cover images, but they have similar content. Later, when some of them requested a local language version, such as a Japanese version, *Newsweek* agreed but indicated that they should use 70 percent of materials from the domestic and English international *Newsweek* and the translation would be sent back to New York for checking, and there were no limitations on local advertising, said former Tokyo Bureau Chief Brad Martin (personal communication, March 3, 2003). It seems that at *Newsweek*, uniformity outweighed localization in the editorial content. In the case of *Time,* which has six global versions, 80% of editorial materials are the same across the market and 20% is local content (Gray, 2002).

Unlike *Newsweek* and *Time, GQ* is a lifestyle and fashion magazine, but the local and global balance is an issue also facing international fashion magazines. Nicholas Coleridge, U.K. managing editor of Conde Nast, said that "magazines do change according to the market. The editorial should encapsulate the core values of a particular title—for example, *Vogue* is fashionable, upscale and discriminating—but merge it with local considerations" (Crawford, 2001, p.44). *GQ* magazine will choose different contents to adjust to the local circumstances in order to be accepted by the local culture and local market and still maintain the brand quality.

Today, the traditional view of masculinity is being challenged by modern concepts: girls outperforming boys is regarded as healthy (Stuttaford, 2002); full-frontal

nude male models have appeared in advertising (Trebay, 2003); money or power is considered a modern man's muscles, and a man has to modify his "natural instincts" to adapt to the "increasingly female world" (Stuttaford, 2002). As a men's magazine, *GQ*, conceptualized by the editor-in-chief, Art Cooper, has tried to "define a masculine life-style" (Handy, 1997) via words and pictures. In this kind of popular magazine, sometimes the pictures are more powerful than the editorial words, since the young male readers have little leisure time and most of them just look at the pictures. In fact, the American English *GQ* won two National Magazine Awards for Visual Excellence in 1995 and 1996 (http://asme.magazine.org/national_magazine_awards/past_winners.html, 11 February 2003). It is proof of the magazine's tradition to maintain the excellent visual images of models in the magazine.

However, the increasing sexual images in the magazine have raised concerns from different parties. From the viewpoint of the editors, they think the sexy image is sophisticated and fun, and is different from pornography. Dylan Jones, editor of the British English *GQ*, said that "it is fundamental that every men's magazine has a libido, but it is important we get the kind of women we feature just right. We offer a good package; good photographers take the pictures, we allow the subjects to vet the result, so everyone is happy, the girl and the reader" (Tyrrel, 2002). (For parents, it could be a "tricky thing" to see their children naked in the magazine, said Geordie Greig, the editor of *Tatler* [Tyrrel, 2002].) Regarding advertisers, some of them have shown concern about the growing sex content in *GQ* (Matthews, 1995).

Purpose. The purpose of this paper is through analyzing the pictures of gender images in different versions of *GQ*, to examine they say about what it means to behave like a new man, what are the gender roles and relations in modern society and how local masculinity and culture interact with global consumer culture.

Related Studies

There were few studies on the cross-cultural gender images in the zoned versions of *GQ*, but research has been done on men's magazines and on masculinity, global and local, and gender stereotypes portrayed in media.

1. Masculinity

Cornwall and Lindisfarne cited the definition of masculine in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as a description of "attributes, actions, and productions as well as certain inaminate objects which are connected with the male role because of some essential quality, such as relative superiority or strength" (1996, p.11). Hofstede says masculinity "refers to the dominant gender role patterns in the vast majority of both traditional and modern societies … the patterns of male assertiveness and female nurturance" (Hofstede, 2001, p.284). James Truman, editor of *Details*, told an interviewer that there was no unifying definition of masculinity in America. However, men's magazines try to offer "individual" and "collective" identity through style to "sensitive" and "confused" young men (Faludi, 1999, p.514).

Changing concepts of masculinity affect clothing style. The changing men's fashion has "transformed male bodies into objects of the gaze, of display and decoration" (Craik, 1994, p.203). In addition, the changing styles of dress from the

formal to casual indicate changing social roles and masculinity, because men have authority not only to work as business men but to share jobs or home duties (Craik, 1994). On the other hand, masculinity could be represented by the body image of the person, including the muscular physique, since men care about their builds and want to be more attractive (Mishkind et al., 1986).

Masculinity has "multiple and ambiguous meanings according to context and over time" (Cornwall and Lndisfarne, 1996, p.12). In the United States, the antifeminist backlash in the 1980s against the 1970s feminist movements resulted in reconsidering the female role, because women desired balanced lives. This situation allowed men to reconsider their masculine roles and status in a society composed of men and women (Faludi, 1992). In the global setting, meanings of masculinity vary in different cultures and imported masculinity could be mixed with local cultures to produce new forms (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1996, p.12). Hofstede devised a masculinity index, ranging from the lowest, Sweden, to the highest, Japan with a score of 95 (Hofstede, 2001).

2. Global and local

Hall argues that media frames reflect the audiences' national and cultural identities (2000). In the trend of media globalization, local is "a crucial context and a heuristic perspective" (Kraidy, 2001, p.264) for understanding globalization. Different media take different approaches to globalization. *Time* intends to cater to its regional readers in international versions, while *Newsweek* prefers more global than local content (Hachten and Scotton, 2002). However, although international consumer magazines have been exported and become local media, the advertised global culture

cannot dominate the core local culture. "This so-called global culture refers to the expressions of culture, the symbols, covering eating habits, and global heroes, particularly those who appeal to the young...Yet the core or central values have not become global; they vary across cultures and not likely to change during our lifetime" (Mooij, 1998, p.47).

3. Gender stereotypes and gender display

Masculinity and femininity can be inferred from gender displays to a certain degree. Gender stereotypes are popular in advertising. Although female models' dress is more revealing than that of male models, sexual explicitness of male and female models has increased in advertising (Reuchert, 1999). Gender stereotypes are universal. In Italy's advertising, males were likely to be portrayed as voice-overs and females were portrayed visually (Furnham and Voli, 1989). In East Asian magazine advertising, there were almost no Asian women over 50 (Cooper-Chen, Leung and Cho, 1995). In British television, women are portrayed as dependents more than men are (Manstead and McCulloch, 1981).

Goffman studied the relations between male-female images in advertising and tried to find the relations between the poses of the models and the natural behaviors of men and women. He argued that gender display was a symptom of masculinity and femininity and made it function socially, and cited the "willingness to adhere to a schedule for presenting these pictures" (Goffman, 1979, p.vii). His behavior marker devices, including hands, eyes, knees, head postures, facial expressions, body positioning and placement, have been used by some scholars. Based on Goffman's nonverbal behavior analysis, Sato (1998) designed 46 behavior markers to compare the

cross-culturally concepts of femininity which were reflected in Japanese women's and teen magazines and American women's and teen magazines, including body positioning, leaning posture, self touching, gaze, and the feminine touch. Sato found that Japanese girls were depicted as less actively sexual than American girls and further pointed out that the suppression of sexuality in the pictures suggested that women were ceding the concept of female sexuality to males. These two works not only provide methods for a visual coding scheme in gender display research, but also imply the culture infuses the pictures.

4. Men's magazines

In Britain, Jackson et al argued that the increasing number of men's magazines reflected the changing gender roles and relations and masculinity trend in commercial society. Although men were still dominant in gender relations, the hegemonic masculinity was not static. Social shifts had created gender crisis. The magazines provide "men with an ambiguous zone of communication that makes publicly available a diverse set of enduring male fantasies about body, work, women and sexuality" (Jackson et al, p.153), which indicate the instabilities of contemporary masculinities. In addition, the expanding men's magazine market is an aspect of urban commercial culture. In the United States, at the end of the 1980s, the media reflected this trend and many publishers transferred their foci to male readers and established their style in men's magazines, including *Esquire* and *GQ* (Faludi, 1992).

Men's magazines can represent society's view on male beauty and the ideal male shape. The ideal body shape is moving from thin to firm and muscular (Petrie et al., 1996).

As the encoder, the media encode the information according to the frameworks of knowledge, the relations of production and technical infrastructure (Hall, 2001). Cultural consideration should fall into the frameworks of knowledge. Mackay (2001) argues that the picture culture should be considered when editing magazines, especially international magazines.

Based on previous research, gender images in global versions of *GQ* will be examined through the following two hypotheses and seven research questions:

H1: Gender images are explicitly sexual in zoned versions of *GQ* to different degrees.

H 2: Gender subordination depicted in zoned versions of *GQ* will differ.

RQ1: What is the ratio of female and male characters in each version?

RQ2: Does the age of male vs. female models differ in different versions?

RQ 3: What is the ratio of local images to global images appearing in the pictures in each version?

RQ4: How "sexy" are the men vs. the women portrayed in each version?

RQ 5: Do both male and female dress styles vary by version?

RQ 6: What are the gender relations depicted in each version?

RQ 7: Do the preferred body types differ in different versions?

Method

Content analysis is a method for studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Wimmer and Dominick, 2000). Content analysis lends itself to studying male and

female pictures in *GQ*, a gender specific magazine. Hard copy photographs let coders study each picture carefully (Cooper-Chen, Leung and Cho, 1995).

GQ has 10 global versions. The researcher gathered the January 2003 issues of eight global versions: American English, British English, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, Chinese, and Korean. A single month lent comparability to the study.

The non-advertising pictures of people in the magazine were studied in this project---both black and white and color photographs (not drawings). If a fashion photo was labeled "advertisement," it was omitted. The person's head had to be 1 centimeter high or higher. The unit of analysis was the model or celebrity pictured.

A random sample of 25 percent of pictures in each version was coded for a total of 1,488 pictures. A number, 1-4, was chosen randomly for the starting point, and then every 4th photo was coded; 372 photographs were coded. Seven dimensions were analyzed: gender, race, age, body exposure, clothing, subordination and body shape.

The person's race was coded as Asian, white, black, others or cannot tell. The age of the person was coded as below 40 or 40 and older.

Body exposure was based on the sexual display categories by Plous and Neptune (1997) as:

(1) Fully clothed (no shoulder, back, cleavage, breast, stomach, thigh exposed)

(2) Somewhat revealing (entire shoulder is exposed)

(3) Very revealing (exposed back or cleavage or stomach or thigh)

(4) Scantily clothed (exposed thigh and breast and/or other body areas)

(5) Nude (no clothing)

(6) Others

The researcher classified the clothing into three kinds based on related studies in fashion (Finkelstein, 1998; Craik, 1994) and the gender study of magazine advertising by Plous and Neptune (1997): formal clothing, such as career dress, business shirt plus tie, suit, ceremonial robe or dress; casual clothing, such as leisure suit, jacket, jeans, slacks, shirt, sports apparel, and T-shirt; underwear or bikini swimsuit or pajamas.

The subordinate markers were based on Goffman's definition of the subordinate gender characteristics in his study of advertisements (1979):

(1) Recumbent position, which could be "a conventionalized expression of sexual availability" (p.41), or sitting down

(2) body canting or knees bending

(3) smile

(4) head/eye aversion

(5) no subordinate marker

These postures or facial expressions could be read as "an acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and an appeasement" (Goffman, 1979, p.46). If the model exhibits more than one subordinate behavior, the approach is to double code.

Body shape category was coded following the 8-point scheme of Law and Labre (2002):

(1) Low body fat/not muscular

(2) Low body fat /somewhat muscular

(3) Low body fat /very muscular

(4) Medium body fat/not muscular

(5) Medium body fat/somewhat muscular

(6) Medium body fat/very muscular

(7) High body fat/not muscular

(8) High body fat/somewhat muscular

If a person's body was not exposed, that is, only the head and hand were exposed without an evident shape, code it as 9th category, "no exposed body and evident shape."

The author was the main coder. Three persons coded 10% of the sample to establish intercoder reliability. The three coders included a Ph.D. student in mass communication and two master's students in mass communication. Intercoder reliability, established on the basis of percentage of agreement, was 98 % for models' gender; 97 % for models' race; 99 % for models' age; 98 % for models' body exposure; 98% for models' clothing; 88 % for subordinate markers; and 82% for body shape. Overall, intercoder reliability for this study was 82% (Stempel and Westley, 1989).

Results and discussion

1. Gender ratio in different versions (RQ1)

Gender is not significantly different in each version. However, the percentage shows that male models numerically dominate female models in each version. The American English version has the most dominant number of male models (78.9%), which is 3.8 times of its number of female models (21.1%). The Italian version has the second largest male percentage (76.6%), which is 3.3 times its female model percentage

(23.4%). The ratio in the Korean version resembles that of the Italian version: male model percentage (76.3%) is 3.2 times female model percentage (23.7%). The German, British English and Chinese versions have similar ratio of male to female figures 2.5, 2.4 and 2.2, respectively. The two smallest ratios of male to female models are 1.9 for the Spanish version and 1.3 for the Russian version (see Table 1).

The tendency to use more male models than female models in men's magazine was found universally in global versions of *GQ* in this study. However, in each specific version, the ratio of male figures to female figures is different. The columns of the table are arranged based on the masculinity index value of Hofstede (2001, p.286) from the highest to the lowest, except the Russian version, which is not listed in his index. This ratio rank is not always accorded with the masculinity index value, which means that masculinity in each culture is not the absolute basis for selecting male or female models in *GQ*.

Table 1. Gender of Models in Global Versions of *GQ* (January Issue, 2003)

	Italy	U.K	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	36 (76.6%)	38 (70.4%)	47 (71.2%)	15 (78.9%)	24 (68.6%)	38 (65.5%)	45 (76.3%)	19 (55.9%)	262 (70.4%)
Female	11 (23.4%)	16 (29.6%)	19 (28.8%)	4 (21.1%)	11 (31.4%)	20 (34.5%)	14 (23.7%)	15 (44.1%)	110 (29.6%)
Male/Female	3.3	2.4	2.5	3.8	2.2	1.9	3.2	1.3	2.4
Total	47 (100%)	54 (100%)	66 (100%)	19 (100%)	35 (100%)	58 (100%)	59 (100%)	34 (100%)	372 (100%)

(X^2=6.7, df=7, n.s.)

2. The models' age in different versions (RQ 2)

Each version prefers younger models over older models, reflecting the demographic of the target readership. However, the frequency of appearance of

younger models is different in each version. The male models' age is not significantly different in each version. The percentages do suggest that most men are under 40. However, there is statistical significance to the finding that most female models' ages in each version are under 40. A significant minority comprises the German and Korean versions (31.6% and 35.7%) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Male and Female Model's Age in Global Versions of *GQ* (January Issue, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	40-	29 (80.6%)	31 (81.6%)	35 (74.5%)	10 (66.7%)	23 (95.8%)	29 (76.3%)	34 (75.6%)	12 (63.2%)	203 (77.5%)
	40+	7 (19.4%)	7 (18.4%)	12 (25.5%)	5 (33.3%)	1 (4.2%)	9 (23.7%)	11 (24.4%)	7 (36.8%)	59 (22.5%)
	Total	36 (100%)	38 (100%)	47 (100%)	15 (100%)	24 (100%)	38 (100%)	45 (100%)	19 (100%)	262 (100%)
Female	40-	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	13 (68.4%)	4 (100%)	11 (100%)	18 (90%)	9 (64.3%)	13 (86.7%)	95 (86.4%)
	40+	0	0	6 (31.6%)	0	0	2 (10%)	5 (35.7%)	2 (13.3%)	15 (13.6%)
	Total	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	19 (100%)	4 (100%)	11 (100%)	20 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	110 (100%)
M+F	Total	47	54	66	19	35	58	59	34	372

(male: x^2=8.8, df=7, n.s.; female: x^2=17.8, df=7, p=0.01)

3. Models' race in different versions (RQ 3)

The models' race in each version is distributed in Table 3. The percentage of the sum of Asian and white models (84.2%) in the American English version is similar to their percentage in the population (86.2%) (Library of Congress, 2001, p.16). Since there are many zeros in "others," "black" and "others" are combined as one variable. Male's race is significantly different in each version. Asian and white people significantly dominate other races. Two Asian versions had more balanced mixes of Asian and white males. The Korean version has more local people (57.8%) than white

people (40%), while the Chinese version has fewer local people (45.8%) than white people (50%). The other zones which have dominant Caucasian populations mainly use white males. The wide use of Caucasian models in global versions could be a universal model of *GQ*, while the two Asian versions using considerable local images are the proof of the combination of globalization and localization.

Table 3. Models' Race in Global Versions of *GQ* (January Issue, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	Asian	0	0	0	0	11 (45.8%)	0	26 (57.8%)	0	37 (14.1%)
	White	30 (83.3%)	38 (100%)	44 (93.6%)	12 (80%)	12 (50%)	30 (78.9%)	18 (40%)	17 (89.5 %)	201 (76.7%)
	Black/ others	6 (16.7%)	0	3 (6.4%)	3 (20%)	1 (4.2%)	8 (21.1%)	1 (2.2%)	2 (10.5 %)	24 (9.2%)
	Total	36 (100%)	38 (100%)	47 (100%)	15 (100%)	24 (100%)	38 (100%)	45 (100%)	19 (100%)	262 (100%)
Female	Asian	0	0	3 (15.8%)	0	4 (36.4%)	0	9 (64.3%)	1 (6.7%)	17 (15.5%)
	White	10 (90.9%)	16 (100%)	15 (78.9%)	4 (100%)	7 (63.6%)	19 (95%)	4 (28.6%)	14 (93.3 %)	89 (80.9%)
	Black/ Others	1 (9.1%)	0	1 (5.3%)	0	0	1(5%)	1 (7.1%)	0	4(3.6%)
	Total	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	19 (100%)	4 (100%)	11(100%)	20 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	110 (99%)

(male: x^2=137.24, df=14, p=0.0001; female: x^2=43.6, df=14, p=0.0001)

4. The sexiness of gender images in different versions (RQ 4 and H1)

Males' body exposure is not significantly different in each version, while the body exposure of the female in each version is significantly different in different versions. Females in the Russian version are dressed in the most conservative way (86.7%), while females in the Korean, German and Spanish versions are dressed more

fully than explicitly to a medium degree (71.4%, 68.4%, 55%), and females' dress in both the British English and American English versions is balanced (50%). In contrast, the Italian and Chinese versions have more exposed female models (72.8%, 63.6%). Heavy female body exposure in the Chinese version could be explained by noting that Chinese traditional and conservative dressing norms are challenged by the western fashion trend. Although males' body exposure is not significantly different in each version, we still can get some clues from the percentages. Most males in each version are dressed much more fully than explicitly. Males in the German version are dressed most fully (95.7%), while males in the Italian version are most explicitly dressed (See Table 4). Since both male and female body exposure percentages are different from each other, **H1 is supported**.

Table 4. Models' Body Exposure in Global Versions of *GQ* (January Issue, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	Fully clothed/somewhat revealing	30 (83.3%)	36 (94.7%)	45 (95.7%)	14 (93.3%)	22 (91.7%)	36 (94.7%)	43 (95.6%)	16 (84.2%)	242 (92.4%)
	Very revealing/scantly dressing/nude	6 (16.7%)	2 (5.3%)	2 (4.3%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (8.3%)	2 (5.3%)	2 (4.4%)	3 (5.8%)	20 (7.6%)
	Total	36 (100%)	38 (100%)	47 (100%)	15 (100%)	24 (100%)	38 (100%)	45 (100%)	19 (100%)	262 (100%)
Female	Fully clothed/somewhat revealing	3 (27.2%)	8 (50%)	13 (68.4%)	2 (50%)	4 (36.4%)	11 (55%)	10 (71.4%)	13 (86.7%)	64 (58.2%)
	Very revealing/scantly dressing/nude	8 (72.8%)	8 (50%)	6 (31.6%)	2 (50%)	7 (63.6%)	9 (45%)	4 (28.6%)	2 (13.3%)	46 (41.8%)
	Total	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	19 (100%)	4 (100%)	11 (100%)	20 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	110 (100%)

(male: x^2=8, df=7, n.s.; female: x^2=13.9, df=7,p=0.05)

In addition, analyzing the data of body exposure of the male and female model in all eight versions reveals that most males are less explicit than female models in *GQ*,

except in the Russian version. It is consistent with the finding of Reuchert (1999) that female dress is more explicit than male.

5. Models' clothing in different versions (RQ5)

Since only a few men are dressed in sexy attire, the chi-square method is not suitable for analyzing the data, and female dress is not significantly different in each version (female: $x^2=24$, $p=0.28$) . However, from the percentage figures, we can see that men are more usually dressed casually, and there are not obvious differences among the versions. Men in the Chinese version are most casually dressed (70.8%), and men in the Spanish version take the lead in formal dress (39.5%). Men in the Italian version wear the sexiest attire. For women, each version has a certain formal, casual and sexy dress, except that there is no formal dress in the American English version and no sexy dress in the Russian version .The British English version has the most sexily dressed female models (37.5%), while the Korean version has the fewest sexily dressed female models ((See Table 5.1). The popularity of the sexy images in each version could represent the global trend for men's magazine intended to attract the male gaze. Each different percentage in each version reflects the adaptation of this rule with local culture.

Table 5.1. Models' clothing in Global Versions of *GQ* (January, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	Formal	8 (22.2%)	12 (31.6%)	13 (27.7%)	4 (26.7%)	5 (20.8%)	15 (39.5%)	14 (31.1%)	6 (31.6%)	77 (29.4%)
	Casual	22 (61.1%)	26 (68.4%)	31 (66.0%)	10 (66.7%)	17 (70.8%)	20 (52.6%)	27 (60%)	11 (57.9%)	164 (62.6%)
	Sexy attire	5 (13.9%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5 (1.9%)
	Others	1 (2.8%)	0	3 (6.4%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (8.4%)	3 (7.9%)	4 (8.9%)	2 (10.5%)	16 (6.1%)
	Total	36 (100%)	38 (100%)	47 (100%)	15 (100.1%)	24 (100%)	38 (100.1%)	45 (100%)	19 (100%)	262 (100%)
Female	Formal	1 (9.1%)	3 (18.8%)	4 (21.1%)	0	2 (18.2%)	9 (45%)	2 (14.3%)	8 (53.3%)	29 (26.4%)
	Causal	4 (36.4%)	4 (25%)	8 (42.1%)	2 (50%)	3 (27.3%)	4 (20%)	8 (57.1%)	6 (40%)	39 (35.5%)
	Sexy attire	3 (27.3%)	6 (37.5%)	5 (26.3%)	1 (25%)	4 (36.4%)	4 (20%)	2 (14.3%)	0	25 (22.7%)
	Others	3 (27.3%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (25%)	2 (18.2%)	3 (15%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (6.7%)	17 (15.5%)
	Total	11 (100.1%)	16 (100.1%)	19 (100%)	4 (100%)	11 (100.1%)	20 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	110 (100.1%)

We can also see that females are dressed more sexily than male models in *GQ* (see Table 5.2), which concurs with the findings of higher body exposure of the female models.

Table 5.2 Models' Clothing (formal/casual v. sexy attire) in *GQ* (January Issue, 2003)

	Male	Female	Total
Formal/causal	241(98%)	68 (73.1%)	309 (91.2%)
Sexy	5 (2%)	25 (26.9%)	30 (8.8%)
Total	246 (100%)	93 (100%)	339 (100%)

(x^2=51.7, df=1, p=0.001)

6. Gender display in different versions (RQ 6 and H2)

Subordinate markers differ very little in different versions. However, from the percentages, we still can see some hints. We still see some relations from the percentages, although there are no significant gender subordinate differences among the

versions. Both female and male models in each version have dominant subordinate markers over non-subordinate markers. It seems that the changing masculinity in the modern men's magazine tends to soften people, both men and women, and the women are more subordinate. However, they are in different ratios. Male models in the Italian version show the most dominant subordinate markers in eight versions (83%), while the Russian version has the fewest subordinate markers (59%). Females in the Korean version display the most subordinate markers (100%), while females in the Russian version display the fewest subordinate markers (68.4%). **H2 is supported.**

Table 6. The Ratio of the Models' Subordinate Markers to Non-subordinate Markers in Global Versions of *GQ* (January, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	Subordinate markers	39 (83%)	39 (78%)	42 (77.8%)	10 (62.5%)	24 (80%)	34 (73.9%)	43 (78.2%)	13 (59%)	244 (76%)
	Non-subordinate markers	8 (17%)	11 (22%)	12 (22.2)	6 (37.5%)	6 (20%)	12 (26.1%)	12 (21.8%)	9 (41%)	76 (24%)
	Total	47 (100%)	50 (100%)	54 (100%)	16 (100%)	30 (100%)	46 (100%)	55 (100%)	22 (100%)	320 (100%
Female	Subordinate markers	13 (86.7%)	17 (77.3%)	27 (93.1%)	3 (75%)	12 (85.7%)	24 (88.9%)	20 (100%)	13 (68.4%)	129 (86%)
	Non-subordinate markers	2 (13.3%)	5 (22.7%)	2 (7.9%)	1 (25%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (11.1%)	0	6 (31.6%)	21 (14%)
	Total	15 (100%)	22 (100%)	29 (100%)	4 (100%)	14 (100%)	27 (100%)	20 (100%)	19 (100%)	150 (100%

(male: x^2=7.06, p=7, n.s.; female: x^2=11, p=7, n.s.)

7. Models' body shape (RQ 7)

The very muscular are dropped, since these figures are very small. Most versions are dominated by non-muscular males except the American English version. The highest preference of non-muscular males is in the Chinese version (83.3%). The Russian version has a balance of muscular and somewhat muscular male images (See Table 7.1). Most female models are not muscular, except the non-evident shape.

Table 7.1 Male's Muscularity in Global Versions of *GQ* (January, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	No muscular	17 (70.8%)	21 (70%)	15 (62.5%)	1 (8.3%)	15 (83.3%)	20 (80%)	28 (80%)	6 (50%)	123 (68.3%)
	Somewhat muscular	7 (29.2%)	9 (30%)	9 (37.5%)	11 (91.7%)	3 (16.7%)	5 (20%)	7 (20%)	6 (50%)	57 (31.7%)
	Total	24 (100%)	30 (100%)	24 (100%)	12 (100%)	18 (100%)	25 (100%)	35 (100%)	12 (100%)	180 (100%)

(x^2=28, df=7, p=0.0002)

Body fat does not significantly differ by gender in any version. The percentage shows a minor difference. *GQ* was dominated by images of slim males and females. Different versions have different percentages. The Chinese version has the most slim male models (89.5%), while the Russian version has the most medium male models (38.5%). Females in the American English, Korean and Russian versions are definitely slim (100%). The other versions have about 85% of slim female models (See Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Gender and Level of Body Fat in Global Versions of *GQ* (January, 2003)

		Italy	U.K.	Germany	U.S.	Taiwan, China	Spain	Korea	Russia	Total
Male	Low body fat	21 (72.4%)	26 (86.7%)	20 (83.3%)	12 (85.7%)	17 (89.5%)	16 (64%)	31 (88.6%)	8 (61.5%)	151 (79.9%)
	Medium body fat	8 (27.6%)	4 (13.3%)	4 (16.7%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (10.5%)	9 (36%)	4 (11.4%)	5 (38.5%)	38 (20.1%)
	Total	29 (100%)	30 (100%)	24 (100%)	14 (100%)	19 (100%)	25 (100%)	35 (100%)	13 (100%)	189 (100%)
Female	Low body fat	12 (85.7%)	13 (86.7%)	12 (85.7%)	3 (100%)	12 (80%)	17 (89.5%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	89 (89%)
	Medium body fat	2 (14.3%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (14.3%)	0	3 (20%)	2 (10.5%)	0	0	11 (11%)
	Total	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	14 (100%)	3 (100%)	15 (100%)	19 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	100 (100%)

(male: x^2=11.7, df=7, n.s.; female: x^2=4.5, df=7, n.s.)

Definitely, females are not muscular without exception. Males are usually seen as non-muscular (65.4%). Sometimes, somewhat muscular males appear in the

magazine to a certain degree (30.3%). Occasionally, there are a few very muscular males (4.3%) (See Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Levels of Model's Muscularity in Global Versions of *GQ* (January, 2003)

	Male	Female	Total
No muscular	123 (65.4%)	99 (100%)	222 (77.4%)
Somewhat muscular	57 (30.3%)	0	57 (19.9%)
Very muscular	8 (4.3%)	0	8 (2.8%)
Total	188 (100%)	99 (100%)	287 (100.1%)

(x^2=44.3, df=2, p=0.0001)

8. Cover of zoned versions of *GQ*

Cover images are different in each version. Most versions have people's photos except the Russian version. Most versions use Caucasian figures as cover characters, except the German version which uses an Asian girl. Most cover characters are aged below 40, except the American English version which uses George Clooney, who is more than 40 years old. The American English, Italian, and Chinese versions use male models, while the British English, Spanish, German and Korean versions use female models. Models in the American English, Italian and Chinese versions are fully clothed, while scantily dressed models appeared in the remaining versions. If male models were on the cover, they are dressed either formally or casually. Non-subordinate models appear in the American English, British English and Spanish versions, while subordinate models are on the covers of the German, Italian, Chinese, and Korean versions. Low fat is the universal body shape for all the models on the covers. Movie stars are popular figures on the covers, including George Clooney in the American English version, Lucy Liu in the German version, and Leonardo Dicaprio in both the Italian and Chinese versions.

Conclusions and limitations

As an encoder, *GQ*, a men's magazine, depicts its men and women "glocally" in the global versions, using universal formats adjusted to local characteristics.

Summary. It is universal that there were more male models than female models in each zoned version, although the ratio of male models to female models may be different in each version. The American English version is the most dominated by males, while the Russian version has the most balanced gender figures. In addition, the ratio rank is not always consistent with Hofstede's masculinity value index.

Each zoned version prefers to use younger models. However, the frequencies are not significantly different in each version. The Chinese version has an overwhelming number of younger male models, while the Russian version has the fewest younger male models. Each version has dominant female models, without exception aged below 40, which implies attraction of younger male readers.

The most popular race for male models in each version is Asian or white. The zones with dominant Caucasian populations have white male models in their versions, while the zones with dominant Asian populations have considerable number of Asian models in their versions. The distribution proves the rule of combinations of global images and with local images.

Although males' body exposure is not significantly different in each zoned version, females' body exposure is significantly different. Females in the Russian version are dressed in the most conservative way, while the Italian and Chinese versions have more exposed female models. Generally speaking, males are less explicitly exposed than female models in each version.

Casual dressing is popular in each version, which could be explained by the improvement of females' status globally and male's various roles in societies. However, the degree of casualness is different in each version. Females are dressed more sexily than male models. Moreover, the female dress style is not different obviously in each version and the degree of sexiness of female dress varies from version to version.

Subordinate markers differ a little among zoned versions. People have subordinate positions in each version to different degrees. Females show more subordinate markers than males in each version.

Slim male and female images are popular in *GQ*. Most versions are dominated by non-muscular males except the American English version. The Chinese version most prefers the non-muscular male body shape. Most female models are not muscular in any version.

Most versions have young celebrities with slim body shape on the cover. Males and females have equal opportunity to be a cover character. Male characters are always formally dressed and fully clothed, while female characters are always sexily and scantily dressed. Sometimes they show subordinate poses.

The finding of more similarities than differences among the gender images in various global versions of *GQ* indicates that the local characteristics were outweighed by the global features. However, the differences do show that local cultures play a role in globalized cultural products that cannot be ignored. This preponderance of global characteristics could be related to the spread of a global consumer culture around the world. Although gender roles and concepts of masculinity start as matters of primarily

local cultures, rapid changes in those roles and concepts owe much to the spread of the global consumerist culture. Not to be overlooked as a possible factor in the mix is enforcement from New York of content consistency for the global brand of *GQ*.

Limitations and further studies. There are some limitations to this study. First, the sample is small. Only one month's issues in eight languages were analyzed and compared. The small sample size led to difficulties in calculating the real relationships among variables. Second, the content analysis of pictures is a quantitative way to explore the relations between variables, and further qualitative and theoretical research is needed to explore the gender images displayed in the glocal environment. Third, the pictures are only windows reflecting masculinity and its social meanings. This project separates the pictures from the editorial content, which could result in biased interpretation of the pictures.

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Selling Silicon:

The Framing of Microcomputers

in Magazine Advertisements, 1974-1997

Presented to the

Magazine Division

of the

2003 AEJMC National Convention

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Abstract

Guided by social construction of technology theory and framing theory, this study investigates the "frame building" process by which the microcomputer became a common and trusted appliance in offices, homes and schools. Using content analysis of 233 advertisements appearing in select consumer magazines from 1974-1997, the role of marketing in defining uses and values of computers was investigated. Frequencies of dominant frame, product type and computer use settings in the ads revealed that marketers conservatively defined the technology predominantly as a tool to improve efficiency and organization. Three potentially influential landmarks in the history of microcomputers—the 1980 National Science Foundation Computer Literacy campaign, a 1985 slump in computer product sales, and the 1990 introduction of the World Wide Web—were selected as independent variables to show how changes in sponsor agendas, consumer actions and technological advances influenced media discourse. Most notably, popularity of the Web precipitated a significant change in frame frequency, but contrary to expectations, toward conservative definitions as tool rather than more "revolutionary" definitions.

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Abstract: Using content analysis of 233 advertisements appearing in consumer magazines, the role of marketing in defining uses and values of computers was investigated. Frequencies of dominant frames revealed that marketers conservatively defined the technology predominantly as a tool to improve efficiency and organization. Select independent variables showed how changes in sponsor agendas, consumer actions and technological advances influenced this framing. Popularity of the Web precipitated a significant change in frame frequency, but toward conservative definitions as tool.

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In 1994, this was a scene of domestic bliss: For their bedtime story, two young girls tell their father: "Forget Goldilocks and the Three Bears. Tell us about Sarte and Existentialism and his belief in the inescapable responsibility of all individuals for their own decisions." To which the doting father replies "Oh, all right" as he fires up the family home computer and multimedia encyclopedia. He chuckles when the girls quote Sarte's "Man is condemned to be free," in order to plead that Dad is *free* to keep them up as long as he wants in order to tell more stories about Sarte. [1]

This Microsoft advertisement in *Parent's* magazine is laden with tongue-in-cheek hyperbole as an attention-getting device, but it encapsulates many of the meanings, values and attitudes that have come to be ascribed to computers in the home. A mechanical device is portrayed as helping Dad feel confident that he is a successful parent. The computer makes his children intelligent and inquisitive. And best of all, the technology puts every member of the family in control of their own decisions and destiny; it makes them "free."

In 1995, 35 million U.S. households contained at least one personal computer compared to just a few hundred homes twenty years earlier. More than half of those households, 20 million, included children, and no less than 96.5 percent of those families had bought educational software.[2] By 1998 42 percent of households owned a PC and one-quarter had access to the Internet.[3] The purpose of this study is to begin to understand and explain the process by which the microcomputer, a once-threatening war-time technology with little or no practical domestic application, became such a common and trusted appliance, one that middle- and upper middle class families at the turn of the new millennium consider essential for daily life and invested with their hopes for success and happiness. Using content analysis of advertisements in consumer

magazines, the role of marketing as a "frame builder" defining uses and values of computers will be investigated.

Research Questions and Potential Significance

The diffusion of microcomputing into almost all aspects of social life in the late 20th century has been called "revolutionary" by many and merely "evolutionary" by others.[4] But there is wide agreement that despite the pervasiveness of the technology, the impact of computers, particularly in the home, is not yet well-understood.[5] Advocates of media literacy and citizen involvement in media policy have called for a better understanding of the influence of information technology, noting that the increasing naturalization and transparency (the tendency for origins of content and functionality to be hidden behind simulated interfaces) of computers requires a more sophisticated form of media and social criticism.[6]

Diffusion theory is one approach that attempts to explain how innovations such as the computer are incorporated into daily life. It assumes that the attributes of an innovation as perceived by adopters, not as defined by inventors, is what affects its adoption.[7] Brian Winston and Roger Fidler have added that technology is rarely adopted on its merits alone; social forces both constrain and encourage adoption.[8] Mass media is a significant influence, along with other social forces, in all stages of adoption.[9] However, while the adoption of microcomputers followed some of the patterns predicted and explained by diffusion theory, the rate of acceptance did not. Instead of ascending rapidly from a take-off point at which a critical mass of early adopters fed rapid adoption by others, seven years after their introduction the total number of home computers in the United States leveled off, with just 15 percent of U.S. homes containing the device.[10] This might be in part explained by the fact that the devices were "peculiar innovations" for which there was no obvious social need.[11] They were introduced without a fixed or predefined function and were in a constant state of evolution. There is evidence that this peculiarity allowed symbolic importance to become a driving force in adoption. For example, a

group of computer buyers studied in 1983 foresaw no specific application for their new purchase, prompting the researchers to conclude that "more than a response to social change, the process of integrating this technology is visibly driven by the discourse surrounding its emergence."[12] Therefore, an alternative to diffusion theory is needed in order to capture the complexities of the computer's adoption and to understand the role of the discourse surrounding the process.

Much of the public discourse about computers first took place in magazines. Several authors have asserted, for example, that magazines played a significant role in both identifying and creating a consumer market for microcomputers by defining the characteristics of the innovation that aided its diffusion soon after the new technology's introduction in the late 1960s.[13] But few have analyzed magazine texts and advertisements to understand their role in constructing a culture that accepted computers. That is, this research argues that magazine advertisements in particular used specific thematic and rhetorical structures to promote, ascribe meaning and instruct the American consumer about computers; an approach to studying these structures is provided by framing theory.

The time period selected for this study, 1974-1997, brackets several events that potentially influenced discourse surrounding use of computers. In 1974 hobby magazines introduced microcomputers for home use as kits available by mail order; these were enthusiastically constructed by a community of engineers and tinkerers, many of whom became known as "computer hackers." The Apple II, the first preassembled, self-contained "appliance" computer entered the market in 1977, billed as the "The Home/Personal Computer."[14] In 1980, the National Science Foundation launched a computer literacy campaign by sponsoring a national conference and making the improvement of computer skills among Americans a national priority.[15] By 1981, the microcomputer industry had reached the billion dollar mark and IBM introduced its "PC." Big Blue's entry into the market meant the diffusion entered a new phase, one influenced by realignment in the industry, bankruptcies by some of the pioneering

companies, and eventually the growth of a mass consumer market.[16] In 1984 computers with the graphical user interface (GUI) of icons, menus and the desktop metaphor were introduced by Apple Computer; for the first time computers were mass-marketed as "friendly" "information appliances."[17] But after a steady climb over seven years, the adoption rates for home computers leveled off in 1985. [18] This prompted a broad-based marketing effort by manufacturers and retailers that included targeting women and families as computer buyers.[19] By 1990 adoption rates began to rise again, likely due to introduction of the World Wide Web graphical interface for the Internet and increased mass media coverage of the Information Superhighway.[20] By mid-decade millions of new users had come online to an increasingly commercial medium and with them they brought extremes of both enthusiasm and fear, especially on behalf of children.[21] In 1995, Congress debated the "Protection of Children Act" that would eventually become the federal government's first attempt to regulate content on the Internet, the Communications Decency Act of 1996. In the 1997 decision *Reno v. ACLU*, portions of the CDA were declared unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court recognized the Internet for the first time as a mass medium, one guaranteed the same protections under the First Amendment as magazines and newspapers.

Specifically, the content analysis was guided by the following research questions:

1. What were the characteristics, frequency and possible meanings of dominant frames apparent in magazine advertising texts during this time period?
2. What, if any, similarities and differences among frames correlate to differences in other variables such as product type and setting?
3. How did frequencies change across time, notably after the National Science Foundation's computer literacy campaign, the mid-1980 slump in computer sales, and increased popularity of the World Wide Web?

Review of the Literature

Framing Theory

One approach to investigating imbedded and shared meanings in media texts such as advertisements is framing theory. It is one way to investigate what Gamson and Modigliani called an "issue culture," the "ongoing discourse that evolves and changes over time, providing interpretations and meanings for relevant events."[22] It is primarily a media theory derived from agenda setting work in public opinion research, which was built on a classic remark by Cohen that media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."[23] But results have been mixed regarding the agenda-setting effect and the existence of a clear link between media and public agendas. [24] McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver later suggested that media might influence not only salience in general, but also of specific attributes of issues; they call this "second level agenda-setting," and see it as the foundation for the phenomenon of framing.

From this foundation, framing theory is still being clarified and organized. Sociologist Erving Goffman is credited with introducing the approach and defining frames as cognitive devices used to classify, organize and interpret life experiences in order to make sense of them. In his view, frames are "schemata of interpretation" that help individuals "locate, perceive, identify and label." [25] Since Goffman, framing theory has crossed disciplinary lines to become popular in related fields such as communication, sociology and political science. As a result, a variety of approaches has emerged, causing some to lament that the theory is a "fractured paradigm" and others to rejoice that the conceptual openness of "frames" is allowing for "some of the most creative analysis of media in current scholarship."[26] There is little doubt that framing struggles with semantic and definitional imprecision. So as applied to media research, the following working definition has been recently proposed by Stephen Reese: "Frames are organizing

principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world." [27]

The principles, "frames," have been found to "organize" in many ways, both cognitively and culturally. Cognitive frames often appeal to basic psychological biases such as seeing an issue as either positive or negative, involving action that is individual or collective. Hertog and McLeod argue that as cultural phenomena, however, frames are "more than" principles. They approach frames as cultural rather than cognitive phenomena, as "relatively comprehensive structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among those concepts....Frames have their own content, as well as a set of rules for the processing of new content." The most powerful concepts central to the frame are myths, narratives, and metaphors that resonate with those of a culture.[28] As cultural artifacts, frames tend to organize a "broad swath of events and issues" that transcend a specific issue, with elaborate underpinnings of assumptions, evidence and world view.[29] Reese acknowledges that frames are not equal in their ability to make sense of the world, and these cultural frames might be the "most interesting" because they organize and explain a wide scope of social reality.[30] It is the cultural frames involved in the adoption of computers that are of concern in this research.

The definition of frames as shared and persistent suggests the question of what makes a frame readily embraced by many over time. It also assumes that audiences share in negotiating frame meaning. That is, frames can be both schemes for both presenting and comprehending news and can be studied as both dependent and independent variable.[31] Early framing research, coming as it did from the effects tradition, concerned the latter. In their review of agenda-setting research, Rogers and Dearing noted that studies focusing on the influences on media content were quite rare; Dunwoody and Griffin lamented the lack of understanding of macrosocial influences on news construction.[32] Recent framing research has to begun to remedy these deficiencies,

identifying sources of frames and the relative influence of social and cultural institutions in addition to media on frames as a dependent variables.[33]

Some of this research involves identification and understanding of interest groups that are alternately called issue sponsors and stakeholders.[34] This work seeks to understand the interplay of media and audiences with particular organizations promoting definitions or policy prescriptions favorable to their interests. Originating as framing theory does from public opinion research, many of these studies consider contentious issues being publicly debated. Although computer adoption does not at first appear as a public policy issue and stakeholders are not directly confrontational, computer marketers, for example, did seek to influence public deliberation by influencing the media, policymakers and public opinion. Pan and Kosicki refer to frame sponsors figuratively as "entrepreneurs" because they often use public relations techniques and terms meant to appeal to both journalists and media audiences.[35] Computer marketers were *in fact* entrepreneurs. They used paid advertisements and public relations techniques, including availability as "expert" sources for reporters, to influence how their products would be defined, used and valued.

To this point in time, however, advertisements have not been a subject of framing research; typically, sociological analyses of advertising texts are based at least in part on critical seminology theory.[36] The recent work of Miller and Riechert, did, however consider the role of promotion in frame building. They compared frames from press releases of different stakeholders and tracked their occurrence in media accounts about wetlands conservation. They found patterns of frame dominance in news stories that accounted for changes in influence of these groups.[37] Also, when members of both conservation and property owner advocates in the wetlands issue were quoted as news sources, whether directly or indirectly, their group's frame appeared more frequently than that of the opposing group and was therefore more prominent.[38]

Marketing and Advertising Studies

Because after World War II computers were produced for commercial as well as military ends, analyses of computer advertising, marketing and public relations texts provide insight into strategies of computer producers and evidence of how the devices became part of everyday life.[39] Lynn Spigel, for example, analyzed popular magazine stories and advertisements to learn how television was domesticated. "By looking at women's magazines as a viable source of historical evidence, we find another story, one that tells us something (however partial and mediated itself) about the way women might have experienced the arrival of television in their homes....They addressed female readers not simply as passive consumers of promotional rhetoric, but also as producers within the household."[40] Other "domestic technology" studies specifically considered computers, often informed by feminist theory; they documented how consumption of computers and judgments about their value and usage reproduced traditional gender and generational patterns. Martha Cassidy's analysis of magazine texts and ads aimed at encouraging use by women found they promoted the post-feminism ideal of "women's work" as centered at home raising children while at the same time earning outside income."[41] Lori Reed found similar texts from the 1960s to 1990s to be "normalizing discourses" that attempted to domesticate personal computers by relying "heavily on very particular ideas and fears about appropriate gender and family relations."[42]

Other studies of computer marketing inform the present research. An analysis of gender genres in advertisements from home computer magazines found, for example, men portrayed as "children in the promised land" and women as "lobotomized," prompting the author to conclude that "the industry is also advocating the use of the computer as a tool to maintain male hegemony and to manipulate women."[43] Thomas Mickey's study of the computer industry-sponsored "Net Days" in 1996-1997, an effort to hook up local schools to the Internet in several states, found it was directed by the interests of the corporate sector. Educators were relegated to a minor role, and

market-driven uses of the technology were given priority over community-building and educational ones. The promotional materials did no less than attempt to redefine successful public education by saying "education is dependent on the use of high tech, especially the Internet."[44]

Methodology

Framing studies typically begin with an attempt to identify and characterize frames, focusing on the central concepts that distinguish one frame from another; often this core involves a conflict of some sort, with certain actors, ideas and positions being highlighted.[45] These concepts are conveyed both in and through symbols, so frames are assumed to have their own vocabularies, as well as certain thematic and rhetorical structures.[46] Therefore, most studies involve some quantitative content analysis that counts the occurrence of key words, catchphrases and symbols that in certain patterns and frequency seem to signify certain frames.[47]

The initial identification and characterization of possible frames can be by "researcher fiat," but as alternative, framing scholars now look to other methods as a way to improve reliability of measurement and to "take out" the researcher's subjectivity in the identification of frames because the activity of coming up with names for frames involves a kind of framing, too.[48] Gamson and Modigliani used a "media package approach" where the researcher derived short, cohesive essays incorporating all the arguments for a particular point of view, using particular framing devices such as metaphors, exemplars (historical examples from which lessons are drawn), catchphrases, depictions and visual images.[49] Another approach is Tankard's "list of frames" in which an inventory of possible frames is first identified and then used as coding categories. The list can be derived from a number of possible sources, including the content of a particular discourse itself, theoretical or research literature about the topic, or press releases by particular issue sponsors.[50] Coders can then identify individual stories as falling into one frame

on the list, with a list of definitions, frame indicators (keywords, catchphrases and images), and framing mechanisms to guide them. "Framing mechanisms" or "framing devices" are standard elements of a newspaper or magazine text, such as headlines, subheads, photographs, etc., which tend to signal the appearance of a frame in a newspaper or magazine article.[51]

Results of intercoder reliability tests using the list of frames as coding categories have been mixed, prompting the researchers to conclude that the degree to which newspapers and magazines articles could be assigned to frames varied widely.[52] They suggested that this might not merely a characteristic of the coding scheme, but rather a characteristic of the story itself: that some stories are difficult to categorize because they are presented through more than one frame. This prompted Hendrickson to devise a means for considering framing as a continuous rather than dichotomous variable, using a microcoding approach. However, she, too, achieved mixed reliability results.[53] In an attempt to resolve some of these issues this study sought not to identify all frames present but rather to define and identify a "dominant frame."

Several framing theorists have suggested the existence of a dominant frame in media stories. Iyengar, in his study of varying effects of episodic and thematic frames, observed that even when multiple frames are present, "for most stories, one frame or the other clearly predominates."[54] In their theoretical definition of framing, Tankard et. al, suggest that one frame is a single "centralizing idea for news content." Hendrickson coded (but failed to define) something she called "an overall frame" and it achieved acceptable reliability (83%).[55]

The protocol for identifying this dominant frame was based on Tankard's definitions of framing mechanisms. Of the 11 possible mechanisms, he established the importance of the lead, "the beginning of news stories," as both an "organizing structure" and source of "emphasis" for a story. He also found that, among other mechanisms, headlines and "kickers" (the small headlines that in a newspaper stories appear over the headline that are equivalent to lead subheads in a magazine story) show emphasis.[56] As additional evidence that leads and kickers reflect the

dominant frame, Hendrickson's found they were at least 80% likely to coincide with a story's "overall frame." Based on this literature, then, the current study employed a definition of "dominant frame," as that which was conveyed by the headline, lead subhead (where one appears) and "lead," the first three paragraphs of an advertisement.

Deriving the List of Frames

Hertog and McLeod advocate preparing preliminary models of as many frames and subframes as possible, developing "a list of symbols, languages, usage, narratives, categories and concepts" related to particular frames.[57] Likewise, Tankard's list of frames approach begins with making the range of possible frames explicit, putting the frames in a manifest list, and developing "frame indicators"—keywords, catchphrases and symbols—to help detect each frame.[58]

Several possible sources might be used for conceptualizing this list of frames, including the content itself. In one study Tankard et. al identified frames for the abortion issues directly from newspaper and magazine stories about the topic and then applied the categories to a wider sample. [59] Using both framing and diffusion theory, a pilot study by this author considered all possible frames used to describe the characteristics of microcomputers soon after their introduction, from 1969 to 1981.[60] Dominant themes in each of the 46 articles were identified, as well as any pattern in the use of metaphors and other rhetorical structures used to describe the importance and usefulness of the microcomputer in domestic application. More specifically, themes that portrayed certain adoption characteristics as defined by diffusion theory literature were categorized.

This study also exploited as source for a list of frames what Tankard calls "theoretical literature dealing with a particular topic of discourse." He notes that frame lists developed this way "gain validity and coherence from the previous theoretical work."[61] Such was the method of Laura Hendrickson in her study of media portrayals of child maltreatment.[62] She found that

media coverage used both psychological and sociological frames found in theoretical literature, with some intermedia differences in frequency of each frame. She argued that it is likely that these frameworks influenced media content producers because they represented the thoughts of "experts" on the topic.[63]

Therefore, a combination of findings from literature about computer use, most of it is contemporary with the time period under study and those of a pilot study of consumer magazine content by this researcher were used to create a list of seven (plus other) possible frames for coding purposes. They're definitions and indicators are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Frame Definitions and Indicators for Coding Advertisements

Frame name	Definition	Indicators
Self-referential	Primary reason/goal to own and use a computer device is to learn how electronic devices "work," how to repair them, or how to program them. Little emphasis on tasks. NOT "easy" to understand/use.	tinker, explore, troubleshoot on own, learn more about information technology (IT), do it yourself.
Appliance/Tool	Tools used/that used to make business functions and/or household chores, more efficient and cost-effective, controlled, productive, fast, and easy. Includes both present and future capabilities of computer devices.	easy to understand; plug-it in "out of the box"; anyone can use it; has many uses, does the "job" better; technical specifications are highlighted; "smart house" automation; emphasizes speed, power, versatility, upgradeability; justifies cost of technology because of multifunctionality.
Personal/Anthropomorphic	Human-like, both extensions and enhancements of one's personality, creativity, and idea generation. Using them will make one a better individual.	"personal computer"; what is on device same as person who owns it; devices are same as humans: can think, be friendly, talk; devices are smart and/or *smarter* than humans; devices take out human intervention/judgment from decisions; you can be all/anything with a computer; interactive; "computer brain."
Boundless/Networked	Networks potentially "limitless" in ability to access and unify humans and information. *Subframe:* Computers bring people together from both close and far physical distance.	emphasis on email application; online community; "getting connected"; access to more information; information = knowledge; too much data = information overload; "cyberspace" (Internet) = frontier; information superhighway; promotes family harmony and togetherness.
Literacy	Computer mastery is fundamental skill, so children should use them. Skills needed for academic and career success and will become smarter. *Subframe:* Computers are also inherently "educational"; they make learning easier. *Subframe:* Computers can teach and supervise children without parental/teacher involvement.	educational use by children; computers make learning fun; children and adults will learn quicker, without boredom; better than human teachers; children better with computers than adults; parents need to be literate in order to stay close to children
Futurism	Computers will dominate future life.	don't be left out/behind; information revolution= excitement, new opportunities; computers will eradicate future social problems; references to new millennium;
Entertainment	Computers are a pleasant diversion, fun.	join friends in games, trade tips; reason to buy computer is to play games; even multi-purpose computers work best as games machines; games make computers approachable, "user-friendly"

Deriving the Sample

To locate advertisements aimed at potential users of microcomputers, especially home computers, consumer magazines from the categories general editorial, home, parenthood, news-oriented newsweeklies (eliminating *TV Guide*), and women were considered.[64] In these categories, the highest circulation titles from the mid-point year of the time period studied—1985—were selected.[65] The titles were *Reader's Digest, National Geographic, Better Homes & Gardens, Parents, Time*, and *Family Circle*. Using a constructed year approach, a random sample was devised, with all advertisements in a particular issue being selected. Based on Riffe et. al, weeklies were sampled by first randomly selecting one week to represent each month.[66] Only paid advertisements that were a full-page or larger were considered, those that promoted any type of computer hardware, software, electronic toys, services and company image advertisements. Special advertising sections, which usually included extended "advertorial" copy, were included in the sample. The random year generated for *Family Circle* yielded no advertisements. This resulted in a sample of 233 unique ads.

Variables coded for advertisements included general characteristics such as magazine title, issue date (month/year) and starting page. Coders, two former magazine editors, were also instructed to choose the dominant product type advertised from a list of ten. They determined which one of five possible settings for using the advertised product were shown in the ad copy and visual. Relying on the framing mechanisms of headline and lead text (first five sentences of body copy), they determined which one frame from a list of seven possible frames (plus "other) dominated the ad.

Intercoder Reliability Tests

For the purposes of determining the reliability of the coding measures and protocol for describing content of computer advertisements, a random sample of 23 advertisements was drawn from the total sample of 233. Coders consisted of three magazine professionals (two editors and a designer). Each coder was given a brief training session to explain the coding instructions, product categories, possible frames, and use settings. They received a list of frame definitions, a list of frame indicators, hypothetical examples of frames and a coding sheet for each advertisement.

Intercoder reliability figures for both coding tests were obtained by using pair-wise comparison of interval level data in the case of partial agreement. For the advertisement sample the most reliable measures were the four variables of magazine title, issue date, and starting page, resulting in 100 % agreement across all ads coded. The three other variables—product, setting and dominant frame, each achieved 95. 6% agreement. Overall agreement, for 6 variables, was 97.8 %.

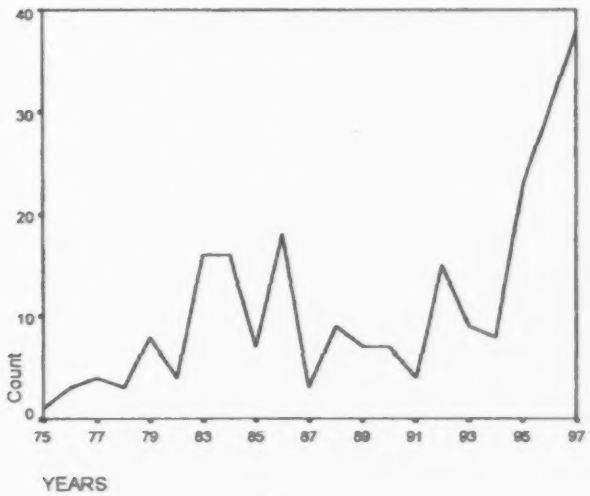
Results

A total of 233 ads were sampled from the five magazines, the most (168, 72%) coming from *Time* and the least (3, 1.3%) from *Readers' Digest* (see Table 2). The number of ads in any given year ranged from zero in 1973, 1974, 1980 and 1981 to 48 in 1997; the mean number of ads per year was 11.1 (see frequency distribution of all years in Figure 1). Before an almost steady increase in ad frequency in the 1990s, the sample shows a decline in the late 1980s. From 1983-1986, the mean number of ads was 11.8; from 1987-1991, the mean was 6.

Table 2: Frequencies of Frames, Product and Use Setting in Advertisements by Magazine

	Frequency (% of total ads)	Magazine				
		Time	*Parents*	*Reader's Digest*	*Better Homes*	*National Geo*
Total	233	168	28	3	5	29
FRAME						
Self	1 (.4)	1	0	0	0	0
Tool	166 (71.2)	130	13	0	3	20
Personal	8 (3.4)	7	1	0	0	0
Literacy	20 (8.5)	3	12	1	1	3
Boundless	17 (7.2)	13	1	1	0	2
Future	4 (1.7)	3	0	0	0	1
Entertainment	8 (3.4)	4	1	1	1	1
Other	9 (3.8)	0	2	0	0	2
PRODUCT						
ComputerHdw	90 (38.6)	72	6	0	2	10
Peripheral	23 (9.9)	17	3	0	0	3
Toy	12 (5.2)	2	7	1	2	0
Game	6 (2.5)	1	3	1	0	1
Software	33 (14.2)	24	7	0	1	2
Service (nonInternet)	3 (1.3)	3	0	0	0	0
Services (Internet)	13 (5.6)	9	1	0	0	3
Image	47 (20.2)	38	0	1	0	9
Processor	4 (1.7)	2	1	0	0	1
USE SETTING						
Home	53 (22.7)	11	26	2	4	10
Office	94 (40.3)	93	0	0	0	1
School	3 (1.2)	2	0	0	0	1
Indeterminate	83 (35.6)	62	2	1	1	17

Figure 1: Frequency Analysis of Ad Cases in Sample by Year



Data on product type and uses

The most common product type was computer hardware (90 ads, 38.6%) and least common was non-Internet service, such as network management (3 ads,1.3%). (See Table 3). The most common use setting was the office (94 ads, 40.3%), followed by "indeterminate"—either a combination of home and office or showing no setting, which was common in corporate image ads (83 ads, 35.6%). The third most frequent was the home setting (53 ads, 22.7%) and least common, school (3 ads, 1.3%). The product most commonly advertised for both the home setting (20 ads, 8.5%) and office setting (40 ads, 17.2%) was computer hardware; the only product advertised for a school setting was also hardware (3 ads,1.3%).

Data on frames

In answer to RQ1, it was found that the most frequently appearing frame in the sample was that of tool, found to dominate 166 ads (71.2%). In every year represented in the sample, the tool frame was the most frequently found in the advertisements. The least common of all frames was

self-referential, which was employed in only one ad (.4%). The personal frame did not achieve the frequency expected, only evident in eight (3.4%) ads; it was tied with the entertainment frame as the fourth most frequent frame. It is apparent that sponsors of paid advertisements sought to distance themselves from computer use as "entertainment"; only eight (3.4%) ads used this frame. However infrequent, the entertainment frame stayed in use in advertisements long after the popularity of computer games was overtaken by other applications, evident in the sample throughout the mid-1990s.

Before further analyses were performed, categories of some variables were collapsed so that expected frequencies would allow use of the chi-square statistic. For frames, all but the most frequent four frames (not including other) (in descending rank order)—tool, literacy, boundless and personal (which was tied with entertainment)—were collapsed into an "other2" category, including (in descending rank order) other, entertainment, future, self-referential. For product, peripherals, toys, games, both service categories, and processor categories were grouped as "other."

In answer to RQs 2 and 3, it was found that correlations between dominant frame and product, dominant frame and use setting, and use setting and product did result in significant chi-squares, though not all in the manner expected (see Table 3). When the use settings (home, office, school, indeterminate) were cross-tabulated with frequencies of dominant frames, the distribution was significant (chi-square=72.10, $p < .001$). Ads using the tool frame and showing office use (77, 33.0%) were three times as frequent as tool frame ads showing home use (26, 11.2%). The literacy frame was used exclusively in home (18, 7.7%) or school (1, .4%) settings. However, the boundless frame was not more likely to be associated with home compared to office use: ten office ads (11%) used the frame compared to one in the home (.4%). For the product to use cross-tabulation, chi-square=37.24 ($p < .001$). Hardware ads showed office use (40 ads,17.2%) twice

as often as home use (20 ads, 8.6%), software ads were almost evenly distributed between settings (5.2% and & 7.3%, respectively) and no image ads showed home settings.

There was also a significant chi-square when product type and frame were cross-tabulated (chi-square=64.67, p , .001). Almost 90 % of ads for computer hardware relied on a tool frame, while only 63% of image ads did.

Table 3: Cross-tabulation of Frame and Product Frequencies with Use Setting Frequencies

	Use Settings (% of all ads)			
	Home	Office	School	Indeterminate
FRAME[a]				
Tool	26 (11.2)	77 (33.0)	2 (1.0)	61 (26.2)
Personal	1	4 (1.7)	0	3 (1.0)
Literacy	18 (7.7)	0	1	1
Boundless	1	10 (4.3)	0	6 (2.6)
Other2	7 (3.0)	3 (1.3)	0	12 (5.2)
PRODUCT[b]				
Computer	20 (8.6)	40 (17.2)	3 (1.0)	27 (11.6)
Software	12 (5.2)	17 (7.3)	0	5 (2.1)
Image	0	20 (8.6)	0	28 (12.0)
Other2	21 (9.0)	17 (7.3)	0	23 (9.9)

Note: "Other2" represents collapsing of all remaining variable categories.
[a]Chi-square = 72.10 (d.f.=12), $p < .001$
[b]Chi-square=37.24 (d.f.= 9), $p < .001$

Table 4: Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of

Frame to Product

	Product			
	Computer Hdw	Software	Image	Others
FRAME[a]				
Tool	79	24	30	33
Personal	5	3	1	0
Literacy	2	3	0	15
Boundless	3	2	4	8
Other2	1	3	13	5

Note: "Other2" represents collapsing of all remaining variable categories.
[a]Chi-square = 64.67 (d.f.=12), $p < .001$

Correlations with Time Periods

In answer to RQ 4, it seems that changes in sponsor agendas (government promotion of literacy), end user habits (slump in adoption), and technological capabilities(World Wide Web interface) did influence in a tangible way particular characteristics and definitions of computers. (See Table 5.) For example, when comparing frequencies of dominant frames before and after the 1980 NSF literacy conference (1975-80 versus 1981-97), occurrences of the computer literacy frame did increase, from 0 to 20. However, the variable did not appear to precipitate shifts in frames overall; the chi-square was not significant. Cross-tabulating the product to the same time variable was also not significant. There was a significant shift in use setting (chi-square= 12.97, $p < .01$), with home (1 to 52) and indeterminate setting (3 to 80) frequencies increasing almost 100%, indeterminate settings becoming as common as office setting (both 37.1 % of the subsample).

Table 5: Cross-tabulation of Time Periods with Frames, Use, and Product in Advertisements

	Pre-Literacy 74-79	Post-Literacy 80-97	Pre-Slump 74-84	Post-Slump 85-97	Pre-Web 75-90	Post-Web 91-97
Total Ads	20	213	55	178	99	134
FRAME[a] (% of subsample)						
Tool	15 (75.0)	151(70.9)	34 (61.8)	132 (74.2)	59 (59.6)	107 (79.9)
Personal	0	8 (3.8)	2 (3.6)	6 (3.4)	3 (3.0)	5 (3.7)
Literacy	0	20 (9.4)	2 (3.6)	18 (10.1)	10 (10.1)	10 (7.5)
Boundless	2 (10.0)	15 (7.0)	10 (4.7)	7 (3.9)	14 (14.1)	3 (2.2)
Other	3 (15.0)	19 (8.9)	7 (12.7)	15 (8.4)	13 (13.1)	9 (6.7)
USE[b] (% of subsample)						
Home	1 (5.0)	52 (24.4)	7 (12.7)	46 (25.8)	19 (19.1)	34 (25.4)
Office	15 (75.0)	79 (37.1)	34 (61.8)	60 (33.7)	55 (55.6)	39 (29.1)
School	0	3 (1.4)	0	3 (1.7)	0	3 (2.2)
Indeterminate	4 (2.0)	79 (37.1)	14 (25.5)	69 (38.8)	25 (25.2)	58 (43.3)
PRODUCT[c] (% of subsample)						
Computer Hdw	9 (45.0)	81 (38.0)	28 (50.9)	62 (34.8)	46 (46.5)	44 (32.8)
Software	0	34 (16.0)	1 (1.8)	33 (18.5)	3 (3.0)	31 (23.1)
Image	8 (40.0)	40 (18.8)	16 (29.0)	32 (18.0)	24 (24.2)	24 (17.9)
Other	3 (15.0)	58 (27.2)	10 (18.2)	51 (28.7)	26 (29.3)	35 (26.1)

[a] Chi-square for correlation with time periods, respectively (d.f.=4) 3.61, n.s.; 15.48 $p < .01$; 17.36, $p < .01$.
[b] Chi-square for correlation with time periods, respectively (d.f.=3) 12.97, $p < .01$; 14.42 $p < .01$; 18.24, $p < .001$.
[c] Chi-square for correlation with time periods, respectively (d.f.=3) 8.46, $p < .05$.;15.14, $p < .01$; 19.62, $p < .001$.

When cross-tabulating time periods before and after 1985, a year when adoption of computers leveled off, the correlations with all three variables were significant. After the adoption slump, ads demonstrated almost three-times the relative frequency of literacy frames

(3.6% to 10% of the subsample), and the proportion of ads using the tool frame also increased (from 61.8% to 72.4%). The advertisements after 1985 more frequently showed home (almost doubling as a proportion of all) and indeterminate settings, while office use settings declined by half. Reflecting the technological advancements in areas other than hardware, advertisements featured a greater variety of products: fewer ads showed hardware (50.9% to 34.8%), and more pitched software (1.8% to 18.5%) and other products (18.2% to 28.7%), including peripherals, toys, and processors. Also, image ads as a proportion decreased (from 29.0% to 18.0%).

When dominant frames, uses and products in pre- and post-Internet time periods were compared, all were significant, but not always in the manner hypothesized. For example, use of the boundless frame, which was expected to become more frequent because the networked nature of the Internet allowed for easier access across distances to information and communication, actually decreased, from 14.1% to just 2.2% of the ads in the time period. The frequency of the tool frame increased markedly (59.6% to 79.9%) and the personal frame slightly (3.0% to 3.7%), but use of all other frames as a proportion of ads decreased post-1991 (chi-square= 17.36, $p <$ .01).

Correlations of use settings in the pre- and postweb periods were also significant (chi-square=18.24, $p < .001$): the proportion of office use ads declined by almost half (55.6% to 29.1%) and the number of "indeterminate" settings almost doubled (25.2% to 43.3%). When product types were correlated with these web time periods (chi-square=19.62, significant at .001), computer hardware ads remained the most common in proportion to the others, but software ads came in second, increasing from 3% to 23.1% of the subsample.

Discussion

Dominance of Tool Frame in Office Setting

According to Paul Edwards, all tools have both practical and symbolic dimensions. The symbolic dimension associated with the computer as a tool from its earliest development by the military

was the importance of "control." Entirely automated command was a "pervasive military fascination" that was really a utopian dream of "speed approaching the instantaneous and certainty in decision making."[67] The dominance of the tool frame in the advertising sample suggests that advertisers felt nonmilitary consumers would also find speed and certainty appealing.

Although cross-tabulations of frame to use setting and time variables were significant, one frame, "tool," maintained its frequency in all use settings and across the entire time period. Not surprising, those seeking to establish a consumer market for a technical device did not actively exploit the idea that it was primarily self-referential, a frame that had as prerequisite the technical skill and interest in tinkering typical of only a small group of consumers—electronics hobbyists. Although a pilot study of editorial stories and theoretical literature suggested that at some point in time there was a significant shift in public discourse toward the personal frame, it is not apparent in these advertisements.[68] The tool frame ruled, especially in ads featuring office settings and, according to the significant correlation of frame to product, as a way to sell computer hardware (87.8% of all hardware ads). Although it has been argued that microcomputers arose from a technical and cultural tradition apart and different from that of the office and mainframes, the dominance of the office use setting in this sample suggests that marketers nonetheless defined them predominantly as office machines.[69]

Advertisements using the tool frame in an office setting sometimes promised so much automation of decision making as to imply next to no input from the operator. An advertisement for an IBM voice recognition system asked "Why don't you just talk to your computer while you get on with the zillion other things that need your attention?"[70]

The only other frame that made a showing in the office setting was boundless. Although not anticipated, this result suggests that the frame had utilitarian characteristics that could be made to appeal to office decision makers. With the networking of multiple computers, managers

were given new control capabilities—control through communication like that allowed by standardized filing systems, duplication and other earlier office technologies.[71] They could convey information and give orders to individuals at lower levels via email and even anonymously check workers' communications with others. Networking improved surveillance of work progress because sales, inventories, etc. were logged on centralized databases that could be quickly and easily accessed and assessed by higher-ups. A 1984 advertisement for IBM's "Smart Desk" (any desk equipped with an XT Personal Computer) told "successful executives" that, without leaving their desks, the advertised computer would allow them to access data files "to keep abreast of things like sales, inventories and receivables" and "connect…with managers, secretaries and other professionals …[to] exchange timely information."[72]

Home Use: Tool and Literacy Frames

Although not anticipated, the tool frame was the top frame of home use settings, as well. Some ads using this frame emphasized the computer's ability to manage inventory of possessions for insurance purposes or balance a checkbook, seeming to suggest that the same standards of productivity and efficiency in the office could and should be applied at home. Others married characteristics of the tool frame with those of literacy and entertainment, frames that typically embody conflicting goals: work and diversion. An Atari home computer promised to "develop your skills and give you thrills."[73] A 1988 Tandy ad pitched a home computer as "for personal productivity, education and family fun."[74] In the home setting, the tool frame demonstrated a conflicting discourse: was the computer a fun machine (as it had been in the home for computer games) that could be made a serious tool or the other way around? A Tandy PC was "The Home Computer that Means Business!" while Apple's Performa was called a "serious business computer" and "a serious fun computer" in the same advertisement.[75] Other studies have

concluded that conflicting discourse such as this is evidence that computers were not yet fully assimilated in the home.[76]

The next most frequently appearing frame for home use was the literacy frame. Much of the National Science Foundation's computer literacy campaign was focused on improving computer instruction in schools, but the larger goal that put it on the national agenda was to increase worker productivity, including that of adults.[77] When the frame was used by marketers, it was aimed at adults—parents—but on behalf of children; the setting was not "work," but home and school. It was a frame used to sell "other" products, such as toys (24.6% of other product ads) more frequently than computer hardware (2.2% of hardware ads).

Although most of the ads portrayed the benefits of computer literacy as realized directly children, parents were also promised the devices could, for example, help America compete with Asia, help them connect with distant and defiant teenagers, find a babysitter and improve their social currency by giving them smarter kids. Similar to findings in Ellen Seiter's study of toy advertisements in parenting magazines, the computer literacy frame in these advertisements encouraged the indulgence of children by parents, assumed children had "democratic rights" in the family and presented computers as ways to defer open conflict between parents and children.[78] For example, a classical music CD-Rom from IBM was pitched as a hedge against a sulky-looking girl's eventual interest in rap music; an IBM ad for a multimedia encyclopedia featured eye-rolling teens appearing above the headline "At least now they have a reason to think they know everything." Other ads portrayed children amusing themselves quietly and safely—without direct parental involvement, appealing to one of the motivations for toy-buying identified by Seiter—babysitting.[79] A V-Tech advertisement for several "kid computers" cited statistics about the increase in the number of working mothers and how computers could fill the void at home: "Today's parents have much less time to spend with their children."[80]

Almost all these computer literacy advertisements contained the theme "learning can be fun," which had a well-established track record as a winning marketing strategy in toy advertising. According to Seiter, it was and continues to be effective because it appeals to the hedonism of the child along with the social aspirations of parents seeking to make their offspring superior competitors in school and the workplace. In this sample of advertisements, Playschool, the makers of the computer toy "Alphie" neatly merged learning and entertainment in the headline "We've Got a Genius for Making Learning Fun."[81]

Making computers seem easy enough to be fun also calmed parents who feared that because children knew more about the technology than they did, their parental control would be eroded.[82] In this way the literacy frame successfully transformed a potential risk of the technology—wayward tech-savvy children, as a benefit—smarter children able to perform better in school and later on the job.

Indeterminate Use Setting

Not until after introduction of the World Wide Web did the number of office setting ads decline, outranked not by home use but by the indeterminate setting. Typical advertisements in this indeterminate category portrayed the product in an empty white space with copy that emphasized specifications such as speed that could be important in any setting. Others used highly conceptual illustrations, such as a 1996 pitch for an AST personal computer that featured a collage of computer parts and documents making the face of a man.[83] The increase in frequency of this composite setting category seemed to suggest that as computers increased in technical complexity and were networked, they blurred the physical boundaries of place.

Time Variables and the Staying Power of Conservative Definitions

Three potentially influential landmarks in the history of microcomputers—the 1980 NSF computer literacy campaign, a 1985 slump in computer product sales followed by renewed marketing efforts, and the 1990 introduction of the World Wide Web as a user-friendly way to access the Internet—showed a range of correlation effects on the other variables. These three are necessarily arbitrary choices, so it is possible the results could reflect the influence of intervening time variables not yet identified here. However, some interesting patterns are evident across the results of all three sets of cross-tabulations.

Dominant frame frequencies were impervious to the computer literacy campaign. Post-1980, the computer literacy frame frequency increased, but others were unchanged; also, the literacy frame increase applied only to the home use setting. Frame, product and use settings demonstrated significant shifts post-1985, as marketers' attempted to reenergize the consumer computer market with increasingly "friendly" devices and direct appeals to women.[84] Evidence here shows they relied on tool and literacy frames in increased proportions, suggesting that these frames "worked" even to convince skeptical consumers because they incorporated traditional values, such as utilitarianism, and roles and practices, such as women (mothers) as responsible for the educational development of their children. As highly conventionalized definitions, these frames helped "normalize" the new technology.[85] Settings for use in this period also shifted away from the office and toward home and indeterminate uses.

One historical event, touted as revolutionary in its technological and cultural ramifications, did indeed precipitate a significant changes in all the variable frequencies. However, it is revealing to find that the introduction of the World Wide Web moved the framing of computer technology as seen in advertisements not toward new concepts such as boundlessness, but rather in the more conservative direction of the tool frame; for example, personal, boundless frames decreased or stayed the same in frequency. Perhaps marketers

anticipated consumers were skeptical about the Utopian gloss of such definitions because they were so hyped in other media discourse. More likely utilitarian definitions were favored because they reinforced existing social and cultural values and strengthened power relationships that favored producers over consumers.

Introduction of the World Wide Web also precipitated significant change in settings for computer use shown in advertisements. Frequency of home and "indeterminate" settings doubled in the post-web period, while frequency of office settings declined. That is, as defined in advertisements at least, the web was the technological innovation that ultimately domesticated the microcomputer.

That the product variable showed significant results when cross-tabulated with all three of these time variables likely reflects the influence of technological innovation over the years, which allowed marketers to offer increasing variety of products for sale. Although computer hardware remained the most common product advertised in all the later time periods, by 1991-97, at 26.1% of ads, the "other2" category was a close second to hardware (32.8%). Software ads occupied third place in frequency by the post-web period as competition in this market heated up. For example, Microsoft spent some $10 million in hopes of achieving operating system dominance with Windows 95.[86]

Conclusion

This research begins to investigate some of the possible social and cultural meanings of microcomputers and how those meanings could influence and be influenced by variables such as technological development and consumer behavior. It attempts to expose the role of marketing agendas and priorities as part of a frame building process, revealing, for example, that marketers favored the most conservative, instrumental uses of computers as a way to associate the technology with existing values and power structure. These definitions, which promised better

and easier control over workers and children, therefore were more likely to reinforce rather than challenge social relationships such as the authority of managers over workers, parents over children. Middle-class aspirations for career success were also exploited by dominant frames such as literacy that assumed enhanced competitiveness in school and the workplace was a desirable goal. Together the most common dominant frames were aimed at improving national economic productivity and creating a consumer market for high-end merchandise. That is, by calling on shared values and goals such as these, advertising frames succeeded in making a once-threatening war-time technology with little or not practical application for most individuals seem not only "normal" but also trusted, valued and essential for modern life.

Further framing studies, including some in process by this researcher, might further investigate occurrences of these same frames in other media texts, public relations materials and government documents to reveal how the network of computer sponsors collectively determined use of and discussion about computers.

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[11] Rogers, et. al, "The Diffusion of Home Computers," 52. Subsequent work by Rogers concludes that compatibility and relative advantage arguments were not borne out in practical application. See Everett M. Rogers, *Communication Technology: The New Media in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 126-27.

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Magazine Professors vs. Editors: Are We Teaching Students What They Need to Get Jobs in the Magazine Industry?

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ABSTRACT

Magazine Professors vs. Editors: Are We Teaching Students What They Need to Get Jobs in the Magazine Industry?

This study was designed to fill a gap in the literature by analyzing the attitudes of magazine editors and educators toward various skills that job applicants should exhibit. The survey results detail significant differences between the editors and educators on 18 of 23 skills. Open-ended questions also indicated that editors appeared to value non-skills such as cheerfulness, while overlooking a favorite of educators--clips.

Magazine Professors vs. Editors: Are We Teaching Students What They Need to Get Jobs in the Magazine Industry?

For decades the debate has continued: are journalism educators and collegiate journalism programs providing the appropriate foundation to prepare students for careers in journalism, and are journalism educators and journalism professionals in agreement about what that appropriate foundation is? Current literature shows that there are, indeed, discrepancies between how journalism educators and journalism professionals think about the purpose of a college degree in journalism and about the skills or knowledge students of collegiate journalism programs should have upon graduation (for example, see Dickson and Brandon, 2000; Duhe and Zukowski, 1997; Bales, 1992; Lancaster, Katz, and Cho, 1990; Parisi, 1992).

Past research has focused on analyzing the attitude gap between educators and professional journalists of several branches of journalism, including newspaper journalism, advertising, and broadcast news. This study was designed to fill a gap in the literature by analyzing a different branch of journalism -- one that has not been studied in the past – magazine journalism. While there are distinct similarities between newspaper and magazine journalism, the two fields are different in several ways, including hiring practices, organizational structure, and writing styles and purposes. Therefore, while it is possible that similar discrepancies may exist between journalism educators and newspaper editors, and journalism educators and magazine editors, this research was undertaken to determine exactly what those differences may be. In other words, what qualities and mastered skill levels are magazine editors looking for in new hires, and are these qualities and mastered skill levels in line with what magazine journalism educators believe graduates should have.

Literature Review

In a study looking at the gap between journalism educators and professional newspaper and broadcast journalists, Dickson and Brandon (2000) found, among other things, that there were significant differences between the professionals and the educators in two categories: what media-related courses are important for undergraduates seeking jobs in journalism and what competencies undergraduates should have upon graduation. For the first category, the authors found that both groups of educators rated conceptual courses, such as media history, communication theory, and mass media and society, and professionally-oriented mass media courses, such as media law, media ethics, and media management, higher than the professional journalists did. The newspaper educators also rated journalism skills courses, such as reporting, use of technology, and design, higher than the professional journalists did. Language arts skills courses, such as grammar, spelling, and punctuation, were rated the most highly by the two groups of professionals and the broadcast educators. Only the newspaper journalism educators rated another category, journalism skills courses, as being the most important courses for undergraduates to take.

In general, the results of this study showed that although there were significant differences between the groups of educators and professionals, the groups were in overall agreement concerning the relative importance of the types of media-related courses necessary for undergraduates seeking jobs in either newspaper or broadcast journalism.

In terms of competencies, the professionals were more likely than educators to rank practical job skills as most important, whereas newspaper editors were more likely than the broadcasters or educators to favor community-oriented reporting skills.

The authors concluded that, given the continued debate over journalism education, it was not particularly surprising that the biggest gap between professionals and educators was over the importance of conceptual media courses and professional media courses. Finally, they noted that though they found a gap, it was not particularly wide.

Similar studies have been done focusing on newspaper professionals, broadcast educators and broadcast professionals, and advertising educators. Bales (1992) found, in a survey study done of newspaper editors, that those editors with journalism degrees were more likely to think that collegiate journalism programs were doing an adequate job of educating undergraduates for jobs at newspapers than professionals with nonjournalism majors. He also found that editors with journalism degrees were more likely to perceive journalism skills courses as important to take while in college than were editors without journalism degrees.

In looking at copy editing skills, Fee, Russial and Auman (2001) found that editors and educators generally agreed on how to prepare students for the workplace across a range of traditional job skills such as critical thinking, word editing and writing headlines. But a gap did appear with educators routinely rating 10 skills and courses significantly higher than the professionals did. The gap was largest on skills such as pagination, coaching of writers, or reporting. Overall, the professors appeared to think that students needed to have all the skills to succeed.

In a study of broadcast educators and broadcast professionals, Duhe and Zukowski (1997) examined the attitudes of each group toward specific broadcast curricula and how well the curricula prepared students for first jobs. They found that professionals and educators ranked most highly curricula with the most hands-on, practical experience in the form of internships or laboratory experiences. These professionals and educators stated that the most important thing students needed to obtain their first TV news jobs was experience, and all other courses and skills were secondary. The biggest difference found was in the reasons why each group thought a practical, hands-on curriculum was most important: professionals stated it was because of the experience it offered, while educators stated it was because such a program produced students whose skills and intellect were balanced, allowing them to merge higher- and lower-order learning. Interestingly, the authors noted in the conclusion that although professionals and academics seem to be in agreement about what type of curricula produces the best-prepared student, few programs have made the effort to implement such curricula, though they noted that signs were beginning to appear that more and more programs were heading in that direction.

Lancaster, Katz, and Cho (1990) investigated the theory-versus-practice debate among advertising faculty and found that the biggest discrepancies over what was important in advertising education were between faculty with Ph.D.s spending above average amounts of time in research and faculty with or without terminal degrees spending less than average amounts of time on research. The results show that faculty with Ph.D.s spending above average amounts of time in research place significantly less

weight on student internships, practical skills, a "first job" training orientation, on-the-job training, and industry experience, all skills more valued by industry professionals. These faculty place significantly more emphasis on theory and principles, a "last job" approach to education, and student learning versus ad specifics. The authors conclude that while there appears to be a gap between approaches, advertising educators are attempting to bridge it. Educators reported spending a great deal of time teaching and bringing in industry speakers, agency materials, and case studies in an attempt to bridge the industry/academia gap.

Dickson and Brandon (2000) stated that journalism education has long come under criticism from journalists and journalism educators for not adequately preparing students for media careers. They note that many studies conducted over the past 40 to 50 years have found the gap between what educators think is important for journalism students to learn, including more esoteric subjects such as media law, communication theory, media criticism, and ethics, and the more practically minded professional journalism, who value skills courses most highly, to be vast (see Fedler, 1993; Mabrey, 1988; Cowdin, 1985; Dickson and Sellmeyer, 1992; Medsger, 1996).

However, other studies have shown that some journalism educators have joined the ranks of journalism professionals who think that collegiate journalism education is moving too far away from the needs of the industry and not focusing enough on skills courses, which would better prepare students for the job market and getting that first job (Medsger, 1996). Eric Meyer, a journalist and lecturer at Marquette University at the time, was quoted in Medsger's report, sponsored by The Freedom Forum, as saying that "professional schools cannot afford to diminish their courses in the skills that are

essential to their job. 'If engineering, medicine or law were to become as theoretical as journalism has,' Meyer said, 'I'd be afraid to cross a bridge, be treated for the injuries I receive when it collapses or sue the contractor responsible.'" (Medsger, 1996, p.12).

The argument ultimately comes down to this: should collegiate journalism programs primarily be skills-oriented, or vocational in nature, with a 75% emphasis on liberal arts courses, preparing students for their first jobs and the job search process, or should there be an even stronger liberal arts focus and greater emphasis on more conceptual courses that focus on teaching students to think critically about the media, such as media theory and media criticism, ultimately training students to be generic communicators?

Current accreditation standards still are holding firm to the principles outlined in the skills/liberal arts track. However, the debate rages – with strong proponents for change to the more theoretical proposal. Some researchers, such as Parisi (1992) argue persuasively that a university's responsibility is to help students be more than ready for a first job; its responsibility is to train students to think critically about journalism and to understand it as a creative, social practice, thereby allowing these new graduates to help shape and change journalism in the future.

It appears from the literature, though, that those who advocate a change to "generic communication" may have an uphill battle, and not just from professional journalists. In a study by Steiner (1994) of how past and current career guidance books present collegiate journalism education to prospective students, she found that since the 1800's, journalism has been presented in terms of job preparation. Continuing forward 100 years, she states that "readers of the books of the 1980s and 1990s learn that the

value of journalism school is only its ability to deliver skills necessary in a 'tight' market." (p. 55). Steiner also notes that career guidance experts often feel that they are trapped between what they see as the opposing views of professional journalists, who desire skills and occupational training, and journalism educators, who desire a change to a broader, more theory-based curriculum.

Worth noting is the extensive amount of research that has been devoted to the study of how attending college affects students, and what they report desiring as an outcome of a college education. The college experience has been shown to have a significant impact on values, personality, behavior, and life-styles (Astin, 1977). However, in study after study, students say that "career preparation" is the most valuable outcome of college (for example, see Tan, 1992; Astin, King, and Richardson, 1976). In contrast to the general stereotypes of students in past generations, who had a more "general learning" focus, Gardner (1989) states that students today are more self-concerned and career-oriented than ever.

Given the current atmosphere of debate, this study has one major research question:

R1: What differences exist between professional magazine journalists and magazine journalism educators in terms of what skills, knowledge, and education each group thinks graduates of collegiate journalism programs should have?

Based on the literature and this general research question, the following hypotheses were developed:

H1. There will be a gap between educators and editors in their ranking of the importance of various skills.

H2. Magazine journalism educators will place higher importance on journalism courses than professional magazine editors, especially in those courses often considered to be more theoretical.

H3. Editors who majored in journalism or communication courses will value journalism education more than editors who majored in other fields.

Method

A survey was sent to 263 magazine editors and 135 magazine educators. Editors were selected by taking a random sample of the editors of magazines listed in the *Writer's Market 2001* (Holm, 2000). To sample magazine educators, surveys were mailed to members of the Magazine Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Reminders were mailed three weeks after the first mailing.

Survey content. Respondents were asked to rate the importance of 23 skills, courses, or college experiences needed by students applying for entry-level magazine jobs. They were also asked to rate the importance of various majors such as English, journalism, and magazine (See Table 1 for the complete listing of skills). They were also asked to list their five most important and least important characteristics. The survey also gave respondents an opportunity to answer open-ended questions about what they thought were important skills and courses.

Who was surveyed. Respondents were 60 educators (44% response rate) and 79 editors (30%). Fifty percent of the educators had seven or more years of professional media experience, but almost 40% had never worked on a magazine, while 28% had 10

or more years of experience on a magazine, and 50% had 15 or more years of experience as a professor.

Among the editors, 93% were college graduates with 50% having 10 or more years of magazine experience. As for magazine size, 67% of the editors worked on magazines with under 10,000 circulation, and 10% were from magazines with more than 1 million circulation. For 96% of the magazines, the staff had fewer than 25 people. Just less than half of the editors had majored in journalism or a journalism-related major.

Limitations. With an estimated 465 journalism programs listed by AEJMC in 2000 (some of which may not have magazine courses), the sample of educators represents 26 percent of all the programs. Although the AEJMC membership list for the magazine division is self-selected, it provides a good base for contacting educators. Its weakness may be that the list misses those magazine teachers who may be part time or teach in programs that do not emphasize research.

More limiting may be the sample of editors. Sampling error with 79 responses is higher than 10 percentage points. Likewise the response rate of 30% may suggest a response bias. But the results may have reasonable validity, especially since they mirror other surveys of professionals and their attitudes toward journalism education.

RESULTS

As expected in H1, there was a noticeable gap between educators and editors. Educators rated 18 of the 23 skills, courses, and educational experiences significantly more important than did the editors. Editors rated more important than the educators only the following characteristics: clerical skills, grades, and creativity, but the differences

were not significant. There also were no significant differences in rating the importance of the media theory courses and interpersonal skills.

Insert Table 1 here

Some of the significant differences were small; for example, the mean differences in writing, proofing, editing, and computer skills were between .21 and .26. In supporting H2, the largest differences were for courses such as media law and ethics, or for skills such as web design and computer layout skills, or for knowledge of such things as magazine advertising or the publishing process.

One of the more surprising results was the low ranking editors gave to clips. Educators gave clips a mean of 1.27, and ranked clips as one of the Top 5 characteristics for students applying for jobs. Editors ranked it at 2.44. That was the largest difference in means. Likewise, some editors devalued the internship experience or experience on student newspapers or magazines.

Editors were split by magazine size to see if there were major differences among big and small magazines, but none were found.

Most/Least important. Respondents agreed that writing was the most important skill for students to master with 84% of the editors and 90% of the educators listing it in their Top 5. Overall, the list shows strong agreement in all areas but clips, which makes the Top 5 for educators but was mentioned by only 10% of the editors, who, as a group, were just as likely to list clips as one of the five least important areas. No educator, however, listed clips as a least important characteristic.

Insert Table 2 here

Importance of the major. Editors also were split according to whether they had been journalism/communication majors or had some other major such as English. When the editors were compared with the educators, some interesting trends were found by ANOVA analyses. Supporting H3, there were significant differences between the nonjournalism majors and journalism majors and educators in rating the importance of courses such as media law and ethics and skills often emphasized at journalism schools such as internships, magazine classes and clips. And in those cases, the means generated by the journalism majors were between the mean scores of the educators and the non-journalism majors.

A more interesting pattern developed in the ranking of the importance of majors. Journalism majors and educators had no significant differences in their rankings, but both ranked the importance of the magazine major as significantly more important than the nonjournalism majors who were editors. Conversely, only the nonjournalism majors were significantly different from the educators in giving higher rankings to the importance of the English or creative writing majors.

Insert Table 3 here

DISCUSSION

As the results show, editors place lower importance on almost all the characteristics, which suggests that in hiring, they are likely to consider the whole package, especially interpersonal skills. In the real world editors probably know or have personal experience with successful magazine professionals who displayed various skills and backgrounds at hiring. This also helps explain why an English major is considered more qualified by some editors than by educators.

For example, in open-ended questions, editors overwhelmingly talked about enthusiasm and eagerness to learn as desirable qualities: two things not mentioned by any of the professors. While the teachers wrote that skills, magazine courses, and portfolios were important, editors expressed a desire that students needed to know about the subject matter of the magazine: a sports editor wanted knowledgeable sporting people; a religion magazine wanted workers familiar with the religion.

Editors wrote that they wanted "cheerful" workers who have "a desire to learn." As one editor explained, he looked for "someone who has a passion for something in life...something that shows they have a zest for living." No editor mentioned that a "portfolio" was something useful.

It makes sense that educators are going to rate highly those classes taught in their programs: Internet, law, magazine publishing. And journalism educators who advise students on careers are unlikely to tell a student to major in English. However, editors reported feeling strongly about new hires having a "well-rounded education" and being "critical thinkers." A strong liberal arts base seems to be what editors are calling for. Several editors stressed that they wanted new hires to have a good attitude and a

willingness to start from the bottom; as one editor put it, "not have an attitude that is sky-high. Too many graduates, smart as they obviously are, betray an attitude that says they have nothing to learn. Eagerness cannot be undervalued in a candidate."

Editors also valued clerking skills, though educators may not teach these skills within the journalism program or value it as much. As one editor wrote: "Demonstrable skills are far more important than major or coursework." And another was clear: "I can teach a new hire about the magazine publishing industry, but I can't teach her how to write or be creative--that comes with the person."

Educators may be disheartened by some of the results. As one editor put it clearly: "I don't believe a magazine journalism degree can prepare students for a job. The best preparation is a good, well-rounded education in which you learn to write clearly and how to be critical. All the rest is learned on the job."

In some ways, it sounds as if there is a lack of understanding about journalism school education and magazine sequences. Educators put high importance on clips and internships in most cases because journalism educators think that those experiences provide a good, well-rounded education and provide evidence of "demonstrable skills" that the editors say they want.

In part the conflicting results may reflect the pressures and cultures of the two groups. Educators showed stronger support for Internet and Web courses, while most editors aren't looking for those skills. In part this may be due to the constant emphasis on technology at journalism schools, while editors understand that technology is often easy to learn while on the job. After all, it may be how they learned to handle technology.

This may also explain the differences in the views toward clips. Educators push students to get real-life experiences and to develop portfolios, something that can be assessed through internships and clips. But many of the editors who think writing skills are important also think clerical skills are more important than having clips. If an editor who was an English major is hiring an entry-level editorial assistant, clips and internships may not mean as much as the ability to get along or the enthusiasm that the interviewee displays.

From a practical sense, there is much here to comfort educators. Editors who were journalism majors, for example, thought the magazine major was important for job applicants--rating it even more important than the educators did. Also, there is agreement that writing, reporting, and editing count. Editors appear to endorse as strongly as educators do those skills that lie at the core of most collegiate journalism programs. Many journalism programs also emphasize a strong liberal arts foundation, in addition to a journalism major, though educators may not be doing enough to explain to students why this foundation is so important and to explain to editors that a journalism education is a well-rounded education. But perhaps what this study also shows is that educators need to look further into teaching or at least encouraging the more nebulous factors – such as enthusiasm, willingness to learn new things and take direction, passion for learning, creativity, confidence, self-motivation, and a solid work ethic. Perhaps magazine educators should be rewarding these types of behaviors in the classroom to better prepare students for the job market and successful careers.

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Table 1: Comparison of ratings of characteristics for magazine students

* p < .05 ** p< .01 *** p<.001 NS=not significant

Skill	Mean educators N=60	Mean editors N=79	t	p
writing	1.05	1.29	-3.9	***
editing	1.25	1.5	-2.7	**
proofing	1.25	1.46	-2.1	*
reporting	1.18	1.66	-5.5	***
interpersonal	1.43	1.43	-.1	NS
clerical	2.35	2.15	1.6	NS
computer	1.52	1.84	-.3	**
computer layout	1.91	2.67	-5.6	***
internet	1.47	1.96	-4.3	***
web design	2.6	3.47	-7.5	***
publishing process	1.85	2.8	-7.7	***
advertising	2.12	3.19	-9.1	***
media law	1.81	2.99	-8.8	***
media ethics	1.48	1.96	-4.9	***
media theory	2.74	2.98	-1.8	NS
clips	1.24	2.44	-10.3	***
class stories	2.51	2.89	-2.7	**
work on student newspaper	2.0	2.63	-4.9	***
Mag internship	1.59	2.29	-5.6	***
Mag pub class	2.27	2.81	-4.1	***
work on student mag	2.02	2.72	-5.9	***
grades	2.64	2.53	0.9	NS
creativity	1.7	1.57	1.1	NS

4-point forced choice scale: 1=Extremely important; 4=Unimportant

Table 2: Top 5 important skills

Editors N=79	Educators N=60
Writing (listed by 84% of the editors)	Writing (90%)
Interpersonal (61%)	Reporting (58%)
Editing (60%)	Editing (58%)
Reporting (46%)	Interpersonal (37%)
Proofing/Computer (34%)	Clips (32%)

5 least important skills

Editors	Educators
Web page design (58%)	Media theory (62%)
Advertising side (58%)	GPA (58%)
Media theory (51%)	Web page design (52%)
Media law (37%)	Clerk (47%)
Class stories (33%)	Class stories (37%)

Table 3: Comparing editors and their majors with educators

	Educators' Mean N=60	Editors' Mean journalism major N=37	Editors' Mean other major N=42
media law[1]	1.82	2.65	3.22
media ethics[1]	1.48	1.78	2.12
clips[1]	1.24	2.11	2.74
magazine internship[1]	1.51	2.11	2.53
a magazine major[2]	1.42	1.36	1.73
an English major[3]	2.33	2.11	1.82
magazine classes[1]	1.86	2.30	2.74

Note: Tukey's HSD used for multiple comparison of means;

[1] all groups are significantly different from each of the groups.

[2] editors with other major are significantly different from each of the two other groups

[3] editors with other major are significantly different from educators only

1=Extremely important; 4=Unimportant

Working Women in Mainstream Women's Magazines: A Content Analysis

Paper to be presented to the 2003 national conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Magazine Division

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One of the media's functions is to inform audience members about the world around them. Unfortunately, they often present stereotypical portrayals of groups of people and run the risk of affecting how audience members think of those groups (Harris, 1994; Wood, 2002; Basow, 1992; Herret-Skjellum and Allen, 1996).

Gender stereotyping has been examined extensively, as the roles society assigns to each gender, male and female, comprise one of the primary ways our culture classifies social life (Wood, 2002). However, much of media research has been limited to portrayals on television. Studies that have examined print media have generally looked at representation and portrayal of ethnic or racial minorities and the intersection of race and gender, especially in magazine advertisements (Taylor, 1995; Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Pluos and Neptune, 1997; Gonzalez, 2000).

This content-analytical study seeks to contribute to research in the area of gender stereotyping by: 1) examining the representation and portrayal of working women in magazine article content and 2) examining the issues that are addressed in articles written about or for working women. Due to exploratory nature of this study and the new measures created to examine magazine content and gender stereotypes, this is presented as a pilot study.

Gender Roles in Television.

According to Wood (2002), women are generally portrayed in a positive light if they are pretty and focused on home, family, and caring for others. She also notes that although television shows are increasing the representation of successful professional women, most of these women may be so only if they also exemplify traditional feminine values including subservience, beauty and an emphasis on relationships.

In their meta-analysis of television programming and gender stereotypes, Herrett-Skjellum and Allen (1996, p. 176) found that television content "provides a great deal of material that is consistent with traditional images." Men are featured more often on screen, are in higher status roles, and are more powerful. Interestingly, Herrett-Skjellum and Allen found that the most common stereotypes involve the assignment of occupations to television characters (for example, doctor vs. nurse).

The same meta-analysis also examined studies that tested the effects of television viewing on viewers' attitudes toward men and women. They found that in experimental settings, television contributed to viewers adopting gender stereotypes and that in non-experimental settings (surveys), there was a positive correlation between television viewing and viewers' gender stereotyping. Consistent with the content analysis, non-experimental studies also demonstrated the strongest effects of stereotyping regarding occupations (instead of behaviors or social roles).

Gender Roles in Print.

Wood (2002) points out that print media, in particular magazines aimed at a female audience, also present stereotypical portrayals of women. She explains that while women's magazines do address important issues sometimes, they focus on physical appearance, weight loss, cooking and relationships.

Pluos and Neptune (1997) performed a content analysis of magazine advertising to study gender (as well as racial) biases. They argue that "increases in work-role equality seem to be offset by a concomitant trend toward displaying women as decorative and sexualized" (p. 628). Women are more likely to be shown with more "body exposure" and in lower positions physically.

Basow (1992) points out that women's magazines have increased the representation of working women. However, most of the advertisers that purchase space in women's magazines sell beauty- or fashion-related products and require "complementary copy" which will incite the reader to want to purchase their type of product (p. 166). Basow estimates that 75% to 90% of article content is ad-related.

Women are targeted as consumers of traditionally feminine products, and magazine article content reflects related issues of stereotypical femininity, including beauty, family and child care, and housework. Although women contribute to society as workers (according to the U.S. Department of Labor, they comprise 47% of the employed over the age of 16 in the United States [2002]), decision makers, and general consumers, they are not targeted as such. For example, even though "women account for 39% of new car purchases and participate in 43% of all new cars and trucks" (Basow, 1992), print media geared toward women do not treat them as taking part in those types of decisions. Content and advertising regarding those decisions and responsibilities are reserved for men.

Very few content analyses have studied women and occupations in magazines. Dodd, Foerch and Anderson (1988) focused on occupation in an interesting study about the presence and portrayal of women on news magazine covers. Generally, the topic or the person highlighted on the cover is in the content of one of the magazine's articles. In addition, the placement on the cover implies that the topic or person is of significant importance or interest. The study found that women on the covers were generally in the category of "art and entertainment" and were rarely professionals.

Socialization and Stereotypes.

The reason the representation and portrayal of women (and in this study working women in particular) are important is that the media are socializing forces that affect how people think about and act toward women and how women think about themselves. Socialization theories argue that "prolonged exposure to the media comes to teach us about our world and our role in it." (Harris, 1993, p.21) This socialization is complicated by experiences and knowledge an audience member has already and alternative sources of information (Harris, 1993; Arnett, 1995). In other words, messages and images transmitted by the media are incorporated into an existing schema. Shemas are defined as "knowledge structures or frameworks that organize an individual's memory for people and events." (Harris, 1993, p. 25) Because of these individual schemas, media portrayals affect audience members differently, though often in the same direction.

Symbolic interactionism, one socialization theory developed by George Herbert Mead, emphasizes that "awareness of personal identity arises out of communication with others who pass on the values and expectations of a society." (Wood, 2002, p. 52) This theory focuses on the effect the media has on individuals' views of themselves. Just as with the concept of schemas, an individual's identity comes from a "communication," or a negotiation, between others' views and her own perspective.

The media's influence on an individual's beliefs about groups of people or on her self-identity is especially scrutinized when the portrayals presented are stereotypical. Wood (2002) defines a stereotype as a "broad generalization about an entire class of phenomena based on some knowledge of some aspects of some members of a class" (p. 110). Richards and Hewstone (2001) define it as a type of schema or knowledge structure about social groups that sometimes

leads to negative consequences, including discrimination and intergroup conflict. Basow (1992) also points out that the danger of stereotyping lies in both falsehood and oversimplification of beliefs about social groups.

Gender stereotypes are especially prevalent in the media. Men are represented as being leaderlike, aggressive, strong, risk-taking, independent, competitive, ambitious, assertive, dominant, and active (Durkin, 1985; Basow, 1992; Herrett-Skjellum and Allen, 1996). Women are represented as being affectionate, gentle, sympathetic, dependent, emotional, nurturing, submissive, passive, illogical, and preoccupied with physical appearance (Durkin, 1985; Basow, 1992; Herrett-Skjellum and Allen, 1996).

Cultural Ratification.

The cultural ratification model, a theory related to socialization, describes the media as agents perpetuating messages and images that support the goals or views of the dominant members of society (Durkin, 1985). Those messages are, therefore, often patriarchal and capitalistic and serve to encourage audience members to accept gender stereotypes (Herrett-Skjellum and Allen, 1996). According to Herrett-Skjellum and Allen, the cultural ratification model was supported in content analyses of television programming. There was a positive relationship between television viewing and the acceptance of gender stereotypes, especially having to do with occupations. It is important to note that the cultural ratification model cannot prove direction of causality but does help determine if a medium reinforces dominant societal values and stereotypes.

Subtyping and Subgrouping.

Some media have tried to provide counterstereotypical portrayals in order to diversify the representations of women in the media. "Token" portrayals must not be taken at face value,

however. According to subtyping theory, single or few isolated examples of counterstereotypes very rarely break stereotypes successfully.

Subtyping occurs when an extreme disconfirming member of a group is isolated so that the group's stereotype remains the same (Johnston and Hewstone, 1990; Hewstone, 1992; Hewstone et al., 1994; Richards and Hewstone, 2001). In other words, the disconfirming member is thought of as an "exception to the rule" or as unrepresentative (Richards and Hewstone, 2001). This insulates the stereotype from change.

There are some factors, however, that decrease the likelihood that subtyping will occur. If the information is "blocked" (information about a woman is presented in an uninterrupted block), then it will focus the audience member's attention on the woman's disconfirming attributes (Hewstone et al., 1994). This is especially important in terms of portrayals of women in magazine articles. Articles provide a natural block of information and may therefore aid in weakening a stereotype.

Dispersing the disconfirming information among several group members also decreases the likelihood of subtyping (Hewstone et al., 1994; Richards and Hewstone, 2001). In other words, a reader is more likely to subtype if confronted with a counterstereotypical portrayal of a woman rather than several such portrayals in one single issue of a magazine.

Subgrouping, on the other hand, occurs when disconfirming members of a stereotyped group remain included in the category in general (Richards and Hewstone, 2001). Subgroups are formed when members display a key disconfirming trait in different ways. For example, a subgroup of professional women would form when portrayals of women in different professions were included in a magazine. Subgrouping works to weaken stereotypes by increasing the perceived variability of the group (Richards and Hewstone, 2001).

Theoretical Framework For Present Study.

As indicated by previous research studies and scholarly literature, the process of socialization is a complex one. It involves a negotiation between a medium and its audience. During this negotiation, a medium may introduce or encourage a stereotype in an audience member's mind (as dictated in the cultural ratification model). The present study examines whether dominant gender stereotypes about working women exist in women's magazine content. If they do, this study would lend support to the cultural ratification model.

This study also examines whether portrayals of working women in article content that disconfirm gender stereotypes do so to a degree that they are likely to weaken those stereotypes. If the disconfirming members appear to be part of a subgroup (which according to subgrouping theory are still considered representative members of the larger group), then they are more likely to weaken gender stereotypes. If disconfirming members appear to be part of a subtype, then according to subtyping theory, the gender stereotypes may be insulated from change.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses.

Portrayals of working women in the media, especially print media, have been largely ignored by media researchers. Herrett-Skjellum and Allen's meta-analysis of television programming and gender stereotypes (1996), however, illustrates the need for such a study. They found that occupations were more likely to be assigned to television characters based on gender stereotypes than were behaviors or other roles. They also found that in effects studies, the strongest positive correlation was found between amount of television viewing and stereotypical beliefs about occupations.

Women's magazines have been identified as powerful supporters of stereotypical or traditionally feminine ideals (Basow, 1992; Wood, 2002; Pluos, 1997). Although a majority of

women do work and are active members of society in a variety of important ways (economically, socially, politically, etc.), article content is generally limited to topics of stereotypical femininity. This study examines to what extent working women are represented, how they are portrayed, and what kinds of issues are addressed (and, therefore, portrayed as important) to working women.

The following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: Working women portrayed positively will be more likely to be described in terms of stereotypically feminine attributes than stereotypically masculine attributes.

Hypothesis 2: Working women portrayed as successful will be more likely to be described in terms of stereotypically feminine attributes than stereotypically masculine attributes.

The following research questions were asked:

Research Question 1: What are the topics covered in articles written for or about working women?

Research Question 2: What are some characteristics of articles written for or about working women and what differences, if any, exist between different women's magazines?

Hypotheses 1 and 2 and Research Question 1 were examined through quantitative analysis while Research Question 2 was examined through qualitative analysis.

Definitions. The stereotypically feminine and stereotypically masculine attributes were taken from lists and discussions in Durkin (1985) and Basow (1992) as described in the literature review.

A positive portrayal of a working woman is defined as a portrayal in which a working woman is presented in a positive light in *any* area of her life—work, home, community, etc. This may include a woman presented as a leader, as an "expert" on a particular topic or otherwise described with complimentary terms. A portrayal of a successful woman is defined as a portrayal

in which the woman is described as having success in her job (by accomplishing something, reaching a goal, being good at her job, etc.). Portrayals of successful women are also considered positive portrayals, but not all positive portrayals have to do with (job-related) success.

This study distinguished between these two types of portrayals because of their possible effects on how women think about themselves or about other women, according to socialization. Working women featured in a positive light within articles contribute to a magazine's representation of what favorable or preferred working women are like. This representation may affect what a reader considers to be favorable or preferred characteristics to have as a working woman. While women featured as "success stories" may contribute to this representation as well, these portrayals may be more likely to affect readers' views about working women because they are presented as role models to admire and/or emulate.

Method.

Sample. The sample of magazines consisted of five popular women's magazines. They were chosen from the Folio 30 list that appears in *Folio:*, "the magazine for magazine management" (*Folio:*, 2001). It lists current magazines according to circulation figures. The population of interest was the group of five general interest women's magazines with the highest circulation that were included on the list. The magazines chosen are considered "mainstream" women's magazines. Mainstream is defined as targeting the majority of the public or exemplifying the "major or prevailing trend, as of thought, action, literature, music, etc." (Webster's New World Dictionary, Third College Edition 1991, p. 815). Special interest magazines targeting subgroups of women based on race or ethnicity, for example, were excluded. The magazines chosen for the sample were those women's magazines that target women in general and whose circulation demonstrates that they are in fact popular among

women. The sampled magazine issues were from *Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan, Woman's Day, Family Circle* and *Glamour.* Two issues of each magazine were chosen randomly from the months of January 2002 to December 2002 for a total of 10 magazines. Diverse issues were randomly chosen for each magazine because a particular issue or consecutive issues may involve seasonal or topical biases. (The 10 issues were *Cosmopolitan,* October and December 2002; *Family Circle,* April and November 2002; *Glamour,* January and August 2002; *Good Housekeeping,* January and July 2002; *and Woman's Day,* June and September 2002.) The coding of these issues resulted in data for 449 articles (54 of which were for or about working women) and 1080 individual women (699 of which were working women).

Levels of Analysis. The two levels of analysis were the individual-woman level and the article level. The coder looked for the inclusion of working women in the text and visual images in the articles. Magazines include advertisements and articles that may be confused for each other. The coder verified articles in question by checking the table of contents. The author was the only coder for this study and a detailed coding protocol was created as a reference when identifying characteristics of working women. A second coder examined one of the ten issues of the sampled magazines chosen at random to test reliability of the study's measures. Scott's pi, a common measure of intercoder reliability, was employed. It takes into account category values, agreement and usage of each value (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 1998; Wimmer & Dominick, 1997). The value of Scott's pi represents the probability that the agreement was not due to chance (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997).

Within each article, the coder examined portrayals at the individual-woman level and documented women's occupational traits (employment or "working woman" and occupation). Each woman mentioned by full name, or appearing in the foreground of a photo, drawing or

other visual image was coded. If there were more than five women in the foreground, the coder looked at the five in the center. If a woman was coded as a working woman, other characteristics were coded as well. These included good relationship/social skills*; ambition; creativity*; risk taking; intelligence; beauty/fashion sense and being competitive or passionate*. Some of these relate to stereotypically feminine traits (*) and some to stereotypically masculine ones (Durkin, 1985; Basow, 1992). Two neutral attributes (not defined as stereotypically feminine or masculine) were also coded: being hard-working and having good organizational skills.

At the article level, the coder coded topics that were mentioned or discussed in articles written specifically about or for working women. These topics included balancing, struggle, fashion/beauty, health/fitness, food, work relationships, networking, money matters, technology, advancement, insurance, and contributions. Each article could include more than one topic.

Variables at the Individual Woman Level. The coder determined whether a woman was a working woman. Indicators of employment were explicit mention of work-related topics or income in the text or visual representation (e.g. featuring work uniform, badge, etc.). (Scott's pi = .85).

The coder determined her specific occupation, by the explicit mention of job title or description or other work-related topics in the text or visual representation (e.g. work uniform, badge). (Scott's pi = .77).

If a woman was identified as a working woman, the coder noted if it was a positive portrayal (Scott's pi = .78) or if the woman was portrayed as a success (Scott's pi = .81).

The coder also documented other personal characteristics that were mentioned explicitly or implied in the text of the article. These included good relationship/social skills (Scott's pi = .78), passion (Scott's pi = 1), creativity (Scott's pi = .73), hard-working (Scott's pi = 1), good

organizational skills (Scott's pi = 1). In addition, the coder noted beauty/fashion sense, intelligence, risk taking, ambition, and competitiveness. These characteristics did not appear in the issue used to test reliability, and there was 100 percent agreement regarding that finding. This in large part reflects the total sample—all but one of these characteristics was included rarely in portrayals of women. On the other hand, beauty/fashion sense, which appeared frequently in the total sample, was not found by either coder in the reliability-test issue, which was from a magazine that does not emphasize beauty or fashion in its content.

The coding protocol described how each characteristic could be identified—either by explicit mention of the characteristic or by other related description. For example, it described passion as relating to strong emotions or ardent feelings and creativity as relating to being imaginative or artistic.

Variables at the Article Level. The coder determined that an article was about a working woman (Scott's pi = 1) if it profiled a woman, her occupation was mentioned and her work was described. Merely mentioning that the woman is employed or noting her occupational title did not suffice. The coder determined that an article was for a working woman if it discussed some aspect of employment, occupational advancement or other work-related issues (such as child care for working mothers). Note that no articles for working women were found in the reliability-test issue, and there was 100 percent agreement regarding that determination. This reflects much of the total sample as this type of article was uncommon.

If an article was identified as for working women or about working women, the coder noted topics included. Topics coded included balancing, struggle, fashion/beauty, health/fitness, food, work relationships, networking, money matters, advancement, technology, insurance and contributions (Scott's pi = 1). No topics other than contributions were found in the reliability-test

issue (with 100 percent agreement between coders). Again, this reflects for the most part what was found in the total sample and the nature of the reliability-test issue.

The coding protocol explained how each topic could be identified in an article—by explicit mention of the topic or by mention of related issues. For example, balancing could include mention of prioritizing family and work or securing child care. Struggle could include mention of sexual harassment, sexism, or a "glass ceiling." Networking could include mention of communication or relationship-building for advancement purposes. Money matters could include mention of investing, money management, or retirement planning.

Analysis.

Data regarding working women portrayed positively or as successful was analyzed to determine whether they were more likely to be described using stereotypically feminine attributes than stereotypically masculine attributes. At the article level, data was analyzed to determine the kinds of topics that were more likely to be included in articles about or geared toward working women. Qualitative observations were also gathered to contribute to a more comprehensive examination of the type of content for or about working women.

Results.

Working Women. The coding results indicated that 65% of women featured in articles were described (or shown) as working women. The largest percentage (37%) of working women featured were artists, musicians, actresses (highlighting the emphasis on celebrity in the magazines). This was followed by the percentage featured as professionals or management (26%) and "other" (24%), which was composed mostly of professors and writers who were included as "experts" on different topics. Only 6% of occupations were undetermined.

Two additional characteristics were coded for working women—positive portrayals and success. Coding results indicated that 64% of working women were portrayed positively and 11% were portrayed as successful.

Positive Portrayals of Working Women. Results supported the first hypothesis. Working women featured in articles were more likely to be described using stereotypically feminine qualities than masculine qualities. (See Table 1 for the percentage of working women portrayed positively that were described with particular characteristics.) For instance, 22% of women were described in terms of beauty or fashion sense. This was the most frequent type of characterization. This was followed by 19% of working women described as good at building or nurturing relationships or having good social skills. Two other feminine attributes were hardly mentioned. Only 2% of working women were described as passionate and 3% as creative.

Attributes defined as stereotypically masculine were mentioned rarely. Five percent of working women were described as intelligent and 1% were described as ambitious. One percent were described as risk takers, and only one working woman in the entire sample was described as competitive (0.2%).

In addition, other characteristics not defined as either stereotypically feminine or masculine were coded. Only 3% were described as hard-working and 2% as having good organizational skills.

Portrayals of Successful Working Women. Results supported the second hypothesis. Successful women featured in articles were more likely to be described using stereotypically feminine qualities than masculine qualities. They were, however, less likely to be described with some stereotypically feminine attributes and more likely to be described with stereotypically

masculine attributes than women in positive portrayals. (See Table 2 for the percentages of successful women described with particular characteristics.)

Seventeen percent of women were described in terms of beauty or fashion sense. This was the most frequent type of characterization. This was followed by 15% of working women described as good at building or nurturing relationships or having good social skills. Two other feminine attributes, again, were rarely mentioned. Six percent of working women were described as passionate and 6% as creative.

Attributes defined as masculine were also mentioned rarely but they were not as rare as in positive portrayals. Twelve percent of working women were described as intelligent. Only 5% were described as ambitious, 3% as risk takers, and only one working woman in the entire sample was described as competitive (1%).

One "neutral" attribute was also mentioned more frequently in successful women's portrayals than in positive portrayals—being hard-working (8%). On the other hand, only 3% of successful working women were described as having good organizational skills.

Articles For or About Working Women. Of all the articles in the magazines, 5% were written for working women and 17% were written about working women (for a total of 54 articles for or about working women). This does not result in a total of 22% of articles because some articles were written about *and* for working women (for example, an article on resigning from a job featured testimonials and tips for other women).

Topics in Articles For or About Working Women. Table 3 shows the percentages of articles that featured each of the topics coded. The topics featured most frequently were fashion and beauty (28% of articles featured fashion- or beauty-related information), two traditionally feminine values. This was followed by 24% of articles regarding struggle and 17% regarding

contributions a working woman made at (or through) her job. Fifteen percent of the articles were about advancement and 13% about health and fitness (which also included articles on exercise and eating right to look good). Nine percent of the articles featured content about work relationships, 7% about food and 6% about balancing. Six percent of the articles were about money matters, 6% about balancing, 4% about technology and only 2% about insurance. There were no articles about networking.

Magazines with Isolated Articles For or About Working Women. *Woman's Day* rarely featured articles about working women. In fact, the June issue did not have any at all. Its content focused on summer activities and plans for eating outside. One relevant article that appeared in the September issue revolved around choosing the right clothing to wear at work. In "Suit Yourself" the author wrote, "A great suit can take you anywhere you need to go (it's all about the accessories darling)." Another relevant article featured three working women that faced a tragedy and found a way to cope with it ("I Will Survive").

Family Circle, likewise, had fewer articles for or about working women than the other three magazines in the sample. It did, however, have a focus on non-celebrity women and their contributions and achievements in ventures that help others. In the November issue, for example, "Dancing with Big Dreams" presented a woman who transformed herself from a high-powered money broker to the founder of a humanitarian organization helping children in Uganda. The author wrote, "Alexis wanted more—not for herself, but for the children."

In both *Woman's Day* and *Family Circle*, then, working women in articles were portrayed according to feminine stereotypes—concerned with fashion and beauty and focused on helping or caring for others. The article in *Woman's Day* on struggle points to a common theme

in women's magazines of recounting how a woman dealt with a problem or survived a negative situation.

Differences in the portrayal of working women begin to emerge as one reads articles for or about working women in magazines in which they appear more often: *Cosmopolitan, Glamour* and *Good Housekeeping*. The focus on celebrities and fashion becomes apparent in *Cosmopolitan*. On the other hand, *Glamour* and *Good Housekeeping* presented a broader range of working women and topics geared toward them. All three magazines contained regular monthly columns for working women but the differences in the content is striking.

Celebrities and Fashion. The focus on celebrities (whose success often depends on beauty) and fashion in women's magazines lends support to gender stereotypes. *Cosmopolitan* in particular, emphasizes traditionally feminine attributes in its content. The October "Fun, Fearless Female" feature describing TV personality Jules Asner is a good example. The author wrote, "Her fun, self deprecating personality is always endearing." and "Now the 5-foot-10-inch brunette is a fixture on the small screen." One cannot help but think of Asner in physical (beauty) terms, by the description in the text and by the fact that her photo comprises three-quarters of the single-page article.

Cosmopolitan also featured two longer (4-page) articles on actresses Katie Holmes ("Katie Holmes Heats Up," October) and Halle Berry ("Bond Bombshell," December). Holmes is described by the author as having "model-like grace" and as being "the same sweet Midwestern girl she has always been." Even though she is also "professional on the set" she is overwhelmingly described using traditionally feminine terms.

Berry, on the other hand, is presented with more diverse terms. She is said to have "burning ambition", having "poured herself into her career" during one stage in her life. Much of

the article, however, focused on Berry's decision to act in nude scenes. The author wrote of the "5-foot-7-inch beauty", "It's that emotional depth that allowed Halle to be so naked onscreen—both literally and figuratively." In other words, the emphasis on Berry's body is linked to her success as an actress. The section heading "Risks and Rewards" strengthens this point.

Another interesting approach to working women in *Cosmopolitan* is in "Mad- Dash Beauty"(December). The author wrote, "On those occasions when you find yourself stuck without lipstick and craving some color, dot a non-toxic pink highlighter over your lips and lightly rub them together before the color sets…and it looks good—like a pink popsickle stain." In this case, the magazine encouraged women to use a tool at work for a traditionally feminine purpose, to be beautiful in case of an unexpected date.

Glamour and *Good Housekeeping* also included articles on celebrities and beauty but to a lesser extent. In *Glamour,* "The Perfect Hair for Your Life—Find It, Get It" (January) featured the "first-job pony(tail)" and the "college-grad bangs." In "Mon-Fri Denim," "Wear Your Denim to Work (without getting fired)," and "Gwyneth Paltrow's Dos and Don'ts" (all in the August issue), the emphasis is on fashion and its importance in the life of a working woman.

In *Good Housekeeping*, the articles on fashion and celebrities were even rarer. "Style Cheat Sheet," and an article on the Nona Gaye, Marvin Gaye's daughter, were some examples. In fact, in July, the magazine takes a different approach to celebrities. While still emphasizing celebrities' looks, "Christie Weighs In" featured Christie Brinkley speaking out against obsession over being "stick-thin body types," and "Bigger Bodies are back" featured a number of actresses that have become comfortable with their natural bodies. In other words, the articles rejected the traditionally feminine desire to lose weight and be perfectly beautiful. This is in contrast to the article "Celebrity Trend: The Incredible Shrinking Stars" in *Cosmopolitan*

(October). Although the article does criticize these stars, it focuses on them and their weight loss instead of providing an alternative portrayal that women can use as a model for healthy behavior.

Talking Down and Making Fun. Perhaps the most alarming observation about working women in women's magazines is the propensity to talk down to them or make fun of them. In *Cosmopolitan,* non-celebrity women were generally limited to the regular monthly (one-page) column titled "Your Job." Specifically, they were featured in "blooper" sections. In October, "Oops I sent that e-mail where?" featured four women's stories of sending gossip to the wrong person at work. The subheading was "These women made some of the world's stupidest cyber screwups." In December, the title of the section is "I got nailed for skipping work." Clearly, the working women included were portrayed as being incompetent at work. These representations lend support to the gender stereotype of work being a male sphere in which women do not (and should not) fit.

Other sections of "Your Job" contained tips ("The New Job-Search Skills You Need" in October and "How to Survive a Day From Hell" in December) and an answer to a reader's question. In October and December, both questions revolved around relationships, another traditionally feminine value. The questions are "A coworker and I had a regrettable one-night stand. How can I deal?" (October) and "My boss doesn't like me as a person. What should I do?" (December). Understandably, these topics are of interest and importance to a working woman. On the other hand, the fact that these types of questions were chosen for the column over others (which may have been about advancement, productivity, etc.) is questionable.

Glamour and *Good Housekeeping* on the other hand did not include content that so clearly patronized non-celebrity working women.

Diversity of Working Women. *Glamour* included working women from a variety of occupations, including celebrities and non-celebrities. It also included a variety of subjects, including dressing for work, earning more money and working in politics. In "We're Speaking Out" (January), "three powerful women tell Glamour how they're facing the national crisis (9/11)." The women featured include a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, the president of the International Association of Flight Attendants, and a scholar specializing in public policy and terrorism. A sidebar included an interview with Senator Hillary Clinton.

In a short article in the "Dos, Don'ts, News and Views," *Glamour* criticized the lack of female news broadcasters. The author of "Do Let a Woman Take Over the Nightly News" wrote, "Do people really think Diane Sawyer can't handle the nightly news? Come *on*." *Glamour* actively promoted the inclusion of working women in the particularly male-biased field of broadcast news.

Good Housekeeping included the greatest diversity of working women and topics. For example, the January and July issues included articles on the use of technology. Both advised women on how to deal with unsolicited and offensive messages. While the topics do imply that technology is a frightening, unfamiliar territory for many women, the content of the articles indicated a genuine concern for working women and women using technology at home. In addition, these articles did not talk down to readers or make fun of women using technology. They even went as far as describing how technical mechanisms work to show women how to stop the harassment or dangers they encounter over email. In "X-Rated on E-mail" (July), the author wrote, " Most e-mail providers offer built-in spam-busting features…Here are a few worthwhile ones." In "Don't Get Robbed Over E-mail" (January), the author detailed, "A program imbedded in the site disconnects your computer from the Internet, then reconnects it

through a different service provider based in some foreign country." The articles in January and July were five and three pages long, respectively, and included thorough descriptions of the problems and resources to deal with them. This contradicts the traditionally feminine stereotype that women are incapable of mastering or dealing with technology and are easily victimized.

Two other examples of the diversity of working women in *Good Housekeeping* are the articles "The Doctors Kids Adore" (January) and "Women Who've Changed Our Lives" (July). The latter featured a number of powerful women, three of which won *Good Housekeeping* Awards for Women in Government (the others featured were runners-up). The women were described with a variety of terms, including stereotypically feminine and masculine ones. For example, the director of the Office of Family Affairs at the Department of Defense was described as being compassionate and caring. The author also wrote, "Although she was still in a daze herself (following the 9/11 attack on the Pentagon)...Falk knew just what the department needed to do." This woman is presented, then, as both loving (traditionally feminine) and able to take charge of a challenging situation (traditionally masculine). The author wrote of two other award winners, "Outraged, they battled—Snowe in the House, Miljowski in the Senate—to make sure women's health received the attention it deserved." These women are described as assertive, hard-working women that did not give up until they achieved their goal. On the other hand, they are also commended in the article for their ability to work together despite their differences (a traditionally feminine attribute) while their male counterparts have difficulty doing the same.

In "The Doctor Kids Adore," the chief of pediatric surgery at the C.S. Mott Children's Hospital in the University of Michigan Health System, who has spina bifida herself, is described as caring and thoughtful as well as successful in the traditionally masculine career of medicine. The author wrote, "But by the time she's through, patients can usually walk and function better,

a fulfilling achievement that rewards Muraszko for the incredible effort and drive she has invested in her own life and career." The woman's hard work and ambition (traditionally masculine qualities) are highlighted as well as her ability to deliver special patient care to children (traditionally feminine quality).

Columns for Working Women. *Cosmopolitan, Glamour and Good Housekeeping* each included a monthly column for working women. As already described, *Cosmopolitan* one-page column included a bloopers section which featured non-celebrity working women, a tips section and a question and answer section about relationships at work.

Glamour's "Work, Money & Bliss" column, on the other hand, was one page long in January and two pages long in August. The articles included topics from how to "quit smart" after "landing a new job" and how to manage and earn more money to three (New Year's) resolutions for work and an interview with a female special agent from the State Department who was assigned to protect Secretary of State Colin Powell. The emphasis on advancement in terms of money and productivity demonstrates that working women are treated as legitimate, valuable members of the work force. In addition, women are encouraged to be assertive at work. In "How does she make all that money?" (August), the author wrote, "grab opportunities," "speak up…if you don't ask, you don't get," and "Feel the fear. Have the doubts. Go for it anyway."

In contrast with *Cosmopolitan*, non-celebrity women are featured in both positive and negative lights as they wrote in stories of how they quit a job the "right" or "wrong" way. In general, the focus of the *Glamour* column is to find happiness in and through work (by earning more money).

Good Housekeeping's Jane Bryant Quinn column, "Your Money," was significantly different from *Cosmopolitan*'s and *Glamour*'s columns. First, it focused on one single topic each issue and each topic was related to money management. In "Stay-Safe Strategies for a Shaky World," the author advised women on how to take care of finances during the economic downturn. Again, as in technology articles in the magazine, the author did not talk down to women but instead respected their intelligence. The author wrote, "I'm all for stock-owning mutual funds when you're building capital. But some portion of your money belongs in bond funds." Working women reading the column are treated as responsible, intelligent individuals that can understand and make financial decisions—something a stereotypically feminine woman would not be expected to be.

In "What Rich People Know That You Should Too," she advised women on how to invest their money and spend more wisely. She wrote, "Blowing money on meaningless or ostentatious purchases won't win you lasting friends—and it could leave your bank account in tatters." Here the author directly contradicted two traditional feminine values that are usually linked to advertisers. She discouraged working women from spending money on frivolous things (one could read: fashion or beauty supplies) and from expecting that by spending money on products, they will win over more friends or men.

It is also interesting to note that the Jane Bryant Quinn column in *Good Housekeeping* did not feature working women in its content. This may be due to the fact that working women in a variety of portrayals are spread throughout the magazine's content and, therefore, a column focusing on them may be viewed as unnecessary. This may imply that working is a natural, integral part of a woman's life and does not need to be segregated into its own column.

Discussion.

Cultural Ratification. The support for hypotheses 1 and 2 demonstrates some evidence of cultural ratification. Working women, both in positive portrayals and in portrayals of success, are more likely to be described in terms of the traditional feminine stereotype—beauty, fashion, relationships and social skills. In addition, the most popular topics in articles for or about working women were beauty and fashion. The emphasis on celebrities and the importance of advertising in magazines are two significant reasons why these topics may be so popular and why the women portrayed were described using stereotypically feminine attributes. The emphasis in articles on looking good, attracting men, and fostering relationships complements the advertising for the types of products that are often featured in women's magazines—beauty products, clothing, and accessories.

It is also interesting to note that articles describing a working woman making a contribution (as in *Family Circle*'s monthly section "Women Who Make a Difference") often emphasized how the woman helped someone else, was empathetic or in some other way demonstrated traditional feminine attributes.

Subtyping and Subgrouping. This study found evidence of the likelihood of both subtyping and subgrouping during the qualitative analysis of the sampled magazines. As described previously, *Cosmopolitan*, focused almost completely on celebrity women in articles about working women. Celebrity women are by no means representative of the average working woman and it is likely that a woman would find it difficult to relate a celebrity to the average working woman. Reading *Cosmopolitan,* then, may result in subtyping. The reader can easily dismiss celebrity women as exceptions to working women in general. According to subtyping theory, even if the celebrity woman is described in terms of stereotypically masculine attributes

(as Halle Berry was in the December issue—risk-taking, ambitious, etc.), gender stereotypes may be insulated from change because she is thought of as an exception to most working women.

On the other hand, *Good Housekeeping* and *Glamour* offered a mix of content on celebrity and non-celebrity working women. The women were from diverse occupations and backgrounds. The articles for or about working women covered a variety of issues, including politics, medicine and journalism. In particular, *Good Housekeeping* highlighted working women throughout its content and used a combination of traditionally feminine and traditionally masculine attributes to describe them. The variability in the portrayal of working women may cause readers to subgroup working women with stereotypically masculine attributes within the population of working women and, therefore, weaken gender stereotypes regarding working women. Also, because the magazine highlights working women throughout its content, portrayals of working women that disconfirm gender stereotypes may also serve to weaken those stereotypes about women in general.

Positive Portrayals and Success. Another interesting finding is that women portrayed as successful at work were less likely to be described with some stereotypically feminine attributes (namely beauty/fashion sense and good relationship/social skills) and more likely to be described with stereotypically masculine attributes (especially intelligence and, to a lesser degree, ambition) than women portrayed positively. Although both types of portrayals supported gender stereotypes, an increase of articles profiling successful working women would help to reduce these stereotypes. This is especially important for two reasons. First, mainstream women's magazines reach many women and serve as informants about a variety of issues, including work. If these magazines portray working women in a gender-stereotyped manner, they may affect how readers view working women. Second, women readers have few mainstream magazines from

which to choose that target working women, helping or inspiring them to succeed. *Working Woman* stopped publishing in 2000, and other similar magazines target specific audiences, such as *Working Mother* for mothers and *LatinaStyle* for Latina business owners and professionals. Working women, then, may have to rely heavily on general-interest women's magazines for content about work or working women—content that features successful women rarely and propagates stereotypically feminine values often.

Limitations of Study and Areas for Future Research. This pilot study provides some useful measures of gender stereotyping in article content. Identifying the study's limitations may also contribute to future research in the area of working women in women's magazines.

One limitation to the study was the size of the sample. Although the samples of working women coded and positive portrayals were large (N = 699 and N = 449, respectively), the sample of successful women (N = 78) was small. The sample of articles for or about working women was also small (N = 54). This did not allow for generalizable conclusions but rather for exploratory findings that should be examined further. Also, the sample should be expanded to include other women's general interest magazines whose circulation indicate are popular among the general population of women.

Another limitation is the absence of coding for negative characteristics. It was assumed that the content about women featured in women's magazines would be flattering, as much of the content seems to be meant to instruct and inspire. The qualitative findings in the study, however, indicate that some working women are featured critically, especially in terms of their use of technology. These findings illustrate the importance of future research including negative as well as positive characteristics in women's portrayals as well as the importance of qualitative study of women's magazines to find issues that cannot be easily coded or foreseen.

In addition, this study provided some evidence for cultural ratification but could not do so for socialization. An effects study, measuring the influence of gender stereotypes in articles, would need to be conducted to demonstrate whether socialization occurs.

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Table 1
Descriptions of Working Women in Positive Portrayals

Characteristic	Percentage of Working Women Described with Characteristic
Feminine Attributes	
Beauty/fashion sense	21.8
Good relationship/social skills	19.2
Passion	1.8
Creativity	2.7
Neutral Attributes	
Good organizational skills	2.2
Hardworking	2.7
Masculine Attributes	
Intelligence	4.5
Risk-taking	1.3
Ambition	1.3
Competitiveness	.2

N = 449

Table 2
Descriptions of Successful Working Women

Characteristic	Percentage of Working Women Described with Characteristic
Feminine Attributes	
Beauty/fashion sense	16.7
Good relationship/social skills	15.4
Passion	6.4
Creativity	6.4
Neutral Attributes	
Organization	2.6
Hardworking	7.7
Masculine Attributes	
Intelligence	11.5
Risk-taking	2.6
Ambition	5.1
Competitiveness	1.3

N = 78

Table 3
Topics Featured in Articles For or About Working Women

Topic	Percentage of Articles Featuring the Topic
Fashion/beauty	27.8
Struggle	24.1
Contributions	16.7
Advancement	14.8
Health/fitness	13
Work relationships	9.3
Food	7.4
Balancing	5.6
Money matters	5.6
Technology	3.7
Insurance	2
Networking	0

N = 54

Pam Price

From: Keith.Stafford@reuters.com
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To: Pam Price
Subject: AEJMC Membership Confirmation Notice - Keith Stafford - Change

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Changes fro 20 to 207

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Is There a *Maxim* Effect? Men's Magazine Covers "Sexed-Up" for Sales

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Is There a *Maxim* Effect? Men's Magazine Covers "Sexed-Up" for Sales

Abstract

Since its 1997 American debut, *Maxim* magazine has featured a scantily dressed woman on its cover every month and circulation has skyrocketed to 2.6 million readers. The popular press has charged *Maxim* with changing the men's magazine landscape, noting that *GQ*, *Esquire*, *Details*, and even *Rolling Stone* have hurried to mimic the newcomer. Through cover content analysis of *GQ*, *Details*, *Esquire*, and *Rolling Stone* from 1995 through 2000 and of *Maxim* from 1997 through 2000, this study addresses the perceived "*Maxim* effect" to determine what changes other men's magazines made during *Maxim*'s meteoric rise in circulation. Results reveal that significant change occurred at these other men's magazines, more subtle than exclusively using women on covers as *Maxim* does, but using women more often and in more sexualized ways.

Is There a *Maxim* Effect? Men's Magazine Covers "Sexed-Up" for Sales

Introduction

Anyone who has read one or two issues of *Maxim* magazine could easily describe its typical cover: one part image of a vaguely familiar B-list actress, sexually dressed and posed; and one part text, both sensational and salacious. This formula has proven to be attention-getting, and not just for the magazine's 2.6 million subscribers who mostly include the coveted demographic of men ages 18-34. Dozens of articles have focused on *Maxim* as a catalyst for sexualizing the men's magazine landscape, causing long-time men's lifestyle magazines such as *Esquire* and *GQ* (*Gentlemen's Quarterly*) to try its recipe for "celebrity plus sex equals more readers." But has *Maxim*'s success in the United States been accompanied by changes in existing men's magazines, or is this simply the perception of media pundits?

This project seeks to verify or disprove this perception through content analysis of men's magazines before and after *Maxim*, which debuted in spring 1997. In addition to *Maxim*, covers from *Details*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* are studied from 1995 through 2000. By analyzing all images of women and men, including their dress, poses and other variables, this study seeks to trace whether these other magazine's followed *Maxim*'s successful formula. In addition, this study will add to extremely limited research on magazine covers and their role in marketing and branding their publications overall (Johnson, 2002).

Maxim & Men's Magazines

Press coverage of *Maxim*'s quick circulation increases and burgeoning advertising lineage, even despite a poor economy after 2000, has been frequent and usually either is admiring or disparaging. Two events at other men's magazines since *Maxim*'s debut in 1997

have garnered more than the usual amount of media speculation about *Maxim*'s impact on its competitors. The first significant event was the reinvention of *Details* in 2000, after a failed attempt to refashion itself as a *Maxim* clone by hiring away *Maxim*'s own editor. More recently, the hiring of a new editor at *Rolling Stone* in summer 2002 garnered widespread press coverage and popular expressions of angst. Together, these two occurrences triggered much speculation about the nature of *Maxim*'s influence on the men's magazine *oeuvre*.

Before either event, however, *Maxim* had a fast start and stellar performance in a crowded men's magazine market. After its launch in spring 1997 by U.K.-based Dennis Publishing as an American clone of a successful British version, *Maxim* grew to 2.5 million American subscribers by the second half of 2000, which was more than a 47% increase over the second half circulation of 1999, according to Audit Bureau of Circulations figures (Fine, 2001). Its single copy sales rose 22% for the same time period. *Maxim*'s increase is especially notable when viewed in comparison to circulation at that time for the other men's magazine. Each had been battling to maintain circulations between 400,000 and 900,000 subscribers: *Details* (446,000), *Esquire* (679,000), *GQ* (899,000), and *Rolling Stone* (1.25 million), according to the audit bureau (Fine, 2001).

As *Maxim* attracted attention not only from millions of subscribers, it also garnered attention from mainstream media. In February 1999, three of the magazines in this study—*Maxim*, *Details*, and *Esquire*—used scantily dressed women on their covers, prompting a *Newsweek* writer to observe that "[m]en's magazine today practically have to come in a plain brown wrapper" (Turner, 1999, p. 52). Much of the speculation at that time and since has focused on changes on the covers of *Rolling Stone*, *GQ*, *Details*, and *Esquire*, supposedly brought about by *Maxim*'s influence (Bounds, 1999; Germillion, 1997; Handy, 1999; Jacobson,

2002; Mnookin, 2001; Munk, 2001; Sullivan, 2000; Turner, 1999; Walker & Golden, 2001; Warner, 1997). Many of these articles and others featured sources who discussed the competition among men's magazines in terms of tension between long-form and short-form journalism, between content and a form that is visually stimulating (Jacobson, 2002; Mnookin, 2001; Loeb, 2000; "Thriving market," 2002; Wells, 2002). Almost all of these articles mentioned the idea that sex was selling *Maxim* and that other men's magazines were marketing themselves using sexualized women on their covers and in their content.

When *Details* first seemed to jump on the *Maxim* bandwagon, media observers noticed. One *Time* analyst wrote:

> Now all the fellows are slapping cleavage on their covers—in homage, it would appear, to *Maxim*. Whereas *Details* used to feature the stubbly likes of Stephen Dorff, the current number is graced by Elizabeth Hurley, touched up in such an unsubtle way that her breasts fairly leap off the page; it's as if they were eyeballs in a Tex Avery cartoon, ogling themselves. (Handy, 1999, p. 75)

AdWeek in 1999 named *Maxim*'s Mark Golin as Magazine Editor of the Year (Newman, 1999), and that same year Golin became editor-in-chief of *Details*. *Maxim*'s official statement about the loss of its editor to *Details* bragged "that *Maxim*'s success is driving its competitors to copy it .... *Details* has attempted to be a *Maxim* clone" (Bounds, 1999). Once at *Details*, Golin tried *Maxim*'s formula, but lost that job in spring 2000 when *Details* changed formats again. In a discussion about *Details'* transformation from a *Maxim* wannabe to a men's fashion magazine in 2000, media observers labeled *Maxim*'s success as "adolescent hyperactivity that currently dominates newsstands" (Walker & Golden, 2001, p. SR59). Although *Details* promised in early 2001 to provide more substance and "less bare breasts" (Walker & Golden, 2001, p. SR58), the

magazine was criticized later that year for a cover story on Puff Daddy, who is shown inside with a topless model (Mnookin, 2001).

The second news-making event occurred in summer 2002, when *Rolling Stone* hired a new editor, Ed Needham. He had in 2000 started an American version of *FHM* (*For Him Magazine*), itself a clone of *Maxim*. Press accounts depicted the editor change at *Rolling Stone* as an attempt "to save the aging rock bible, famed for its long, in-depth articles, from the onslaught of a brash, new brand of magazine, filled with short articles, bright graphics and a humorous, 'beer-and-babes' attitude" (Jacobson, 15 July 2002, p. B6). Yet prior to Needham's arrival, *Rolling Stone* had often used sexually charged covers based on the work of photographer Annie Leibovitz and others, who have convinced music, television, and film stars such as David Cassidy, John and Yoko Ono, Brooke Shields and Lisa Bonet to appear nude or nearly nude on its covers. More recently, *Rolling Stone*'s cover in 1999 of first-timer Britney Spears became the magazine's biggest seller of that year, with 233,637 copies sold at the newsstand ("The Best and Worst," 1999), and she has appeared on the cover a half dozen times since then.

Magazine-Cover Literature

Research focusing on magazine covers alone is extremely limited and isolated within academic disciplines (Johnson, 2002). Historically, "playful women" were featured on mainstream magazine covers to gain the attention of upwardly mobile men in the first half of the 20th century, when play was seen as "sin—whether in the form of alcohol or illicit sex" (Kitch, 2001, p. 58). A study of covers in the latter part of the 20th century found that strategies had changed little for mainstream, middle-class magazines over the century. Of 123 covers on 21 men's and women's magazines from 1996, 94% of women's magazines featured a thin female model or celebrity on their covers, with only 3% featuring male models or celebrities on covers

(Malkin et al., 1999). For men's magazines in this study, women appeared on half the covers and men on 28% of covers, with the authors concluding that "visual images on both men's and women's magazine covers tend to portray what women should look like and what men should look for. There is minimal focus on the male body" (Malkin, Wornian, & Chrisler, 1999, p. 654).

Another study (Brinkley & Fowler, 2001) reviewed 392 covers of American women's and men's magazines from 1995-2000, coding for the sexual explicitness of the cover subject's dress and for words used in cover text. The study found that covers tended to feature more women than men, that women dressed more explicitly than men, and that more text messages on women's magazines focused on self improvement than did text on men's magazine covers. Overall, these findings match industry views that fashion-beauty-lifestyle magazines for women in the 1990s competed by featuring sexy celebrities on their covers and by using more "candid" language there, and that men's magazines were starting to borrow this same cover formula (Span, 1998, p. 1D-2D).

Maxim and other "lad mags" such as *FHM* and *Stuff* may seem to be descended most directly from their same-name predecessor publications in the United Kingdom. An argument could be made, however, that all these so-called "lad mags" copied their cover formulas from women's fashion-beauty-lifestyle magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* and perhaps even from soft pornographic publications such as *Playboy*, which uses a brown wrapper. One North American grocery-story chain now uses brown wrappers to cover *Cosmopolitan*, which laid down a formula for attracting readers and attention with sexually suggestive women's bodies on its covers ("Women's magazines," 2000). That sexy cover models sell magazines is taken for granted by some in industry circles. *Maxim* has achieved success because it has "devoted its covers to B-list female celebs, with an accent on cleavage and come-hither looks . . . and fashion

spreads with lots of buxom models as set dressing" (Germillion, 1997, p. 28). Indeed, one study that assessed the effects of sexy cover content (Reichert, in press) found that sexual attractiveness of the cover model, and the subsequent sexual arousal it generated, were related to interest in the magazine.

As such, the mantra that "sex sells" seems to carry currency in the current men's magazine market and beyond. In fact, former *Maxim* and *Details* editor Golin has said he relies on the same formula wherever he works in the industry, whether at *Cosmopolitan*, *Maxim*, or *Prevention* magazine (M82). After Golin's firing, new designers for *Details* said they didn't want "the guilty—and lusty—pleasure of the lads magazines in general, and *Maxim* in particular" (Walker & Golden, 2001, p. SR58). Overall, industry experts seem to agree that the "cover of any successful magazine is a shrewd advertisement for what lies inside" (Handy, 1999, p. 75).

In sum, whereas there are few academic studies of magazine covers, industry experts and the popular press offer clues about the cover's importance to branding and sales success, especially newsstand sales. Empirical research on magazine covers, such as this present study, can shed light on shifts among competitors in how they use covers to brand and to sell their publications. This study may also point to how magazines respond to competition in the monopolistic-competitive economic model, in which a publisher is engaged in producing a magazine that is slightly different from competing magazines but targeting the same market or demographic.

Research Questions

Based on past magazine-cover research and information gleaned from media reports about *Maxim* and its perceived effect on men's magazines, the following research questions were

posed for study of covers of *Maxim*, *GQ*, *Esquire*, *Details*, and *Rolling Stone*. Specifically, this study sought to determine if, over time (from 1995 through 2000), the covers of these magazines came to mirror the sexualized *Maxim* formula characterized by women displayed in revealing attire and poses.

RQ1: From 1995-2000, the period including *Maxim*'s debut in 1997, did the covers of men's magazines become similar to *Maxim* as asserted by the popular press?

Further questions were considered to determine the type or degree of change, if change did occur on non-*Maxim* covers:

RQ2: Did men's magazine covers follow *Maxim*'s formula before *Maxim*'s debut (January 1995 to April 1997) compared to after (May 1997 to December 2000)?

RQ3: Are there differences in the way women and men were portrayed on the covers of men's magazines in terms of pose, body view, attire, and sexual tone?

Method

Sample Selection. All covers of *Details*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* from January 1995 through 2000 were included in the sample ($n = 359$). All are published monthly, except for *Rolling Stone*, which is published every other week; in Spring/Summer 2000, *Details* ceased publication for several months when it changed formats. All issues of *Maxim* were coded, from spring 1997 through 2000, including joint July/August issues in its first two years ($n = 36$). The total sample consisted of 395 covers ($N = 395$).

These magazines were selected based on their inclusion in popular press reports about *Maxim* and based on circulation and gender readership categories. All were well-established magazines published primarily for men before the advent of *Maxim*; *Rolling Stone* doesn't fit the

general interest category as do the others, and yet it was constantly perceived by the press as a competitor for *Maxim*-like readership.

Variables. Variables were selected to represent common elements on *Maxim* covers, namely cover models. These variables included gender and number of cover models, as well as how the models were portrayed (pose, camera shot, amount and style of clothing, and sexual tone). The coders first noted whether a cover contained a primary subject or subjects, and coding continued if a cover featured at least one female or one male subject. The model or most prominent model was coded as female(s), male(s), heterosexual couple, many models, or no model. Overall, most covers with people on them (98%) featured only 1 model (81%).

How the cover models were portrayed was assessed with four variables. Two variables provided an indication of the model's positioning: pose and body view. Pose consisted of whether the model was standing, sitting, or reclining, with a "face only" view coded as standing. Body view represented how much of the model's body was shown, ordered from "body" shots (full-body and three-quarter shots) to "head and torso" shots to "face" shots (head and shoulder, and head shots).

Sexuality was assessed with two variables. One involved dress: the amount and style of clothing worn by the model. Each female or male cover subject was classified into one of four categories for dress: demure, suggestive, partially clad, or nude. This variable was based on work by Soley and Reid (1988), with demure defined as "everyday dress" such as walking shorts but not short-shorts or underwear. Suggestive dress was defined as clothing that partially exposed the upper body, such as muscle shirts or unbuttoned shirts, and included very short shorts. Cover subjects were considered partially clad if they were shown in underwear or swim suits. If the

suggestion of nudity was present (a cover subject holds a surfboard in front of his genitals) or subjects were nude but in silhouette, subjects were coded as nude.

The last variable required coders to make a subjective judgment about whether the cover model could be considered by buyers as being "sexy," with choices of "no," "somewhat," and "yes." Judgment was based on a gestalt reading of the cover that included dress, eye contact, facial expression, posture, and other factors. For the purpose of analysis, the categories "somewhat" and "yes" were combined to indicate the cover model was sexually portrayed.

Coding Procedure and Reliability. Each issue was coded by two trained, graduate-student coders, both women, who worked independently. Training consisted of providing each coder with the content categories and of practice sessions using and discussing the categories. After coding, all discrepancies were discussed by the coders until agreement was reached. Intercoder agreement showed acceptable reliabilities for all of the variables coded in the covers: gender of cover person (.97), number of persons on the cover (.99), pose (.92), body view (.86), dress (.88), and sexual tone (.71).

Results

The first research question (RQ1) sought to assess the men's magazine cover landscape before and after *Maxim's* debut in 1997. This analysis included all magazines in the study (*Details, Esquire, GQ, Maxim*, and *Rolling Stone*) with only female(s) or male(s) on the cover (91% of all covers). Overall, there were several significant changes (all tests were chi-square with alpha level set at .05). For one, there was a relationship between cover-model gender and year, χ^2 (5, N=361) = 20.87, p<.001, Φ=.24. Over time, women were more likely to appear on magazine covers than men (see Table 1). For example, men occupied 75% of covers in 1996 compared to only 44% in 2000.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Second, there was no change between cover-models' pose and time, χ^2 (10, N=361) = 15.83, p>.10, Φ=.21. For example, there was no change in the proportion of models shown sitting, reclining, or standing from 1995 to 2000. There were, however, significant relationships between time and how the models were portrayed (body view, clothing, sexual tone). The view of the model was significantly related to year, χ^2 (10, N=361) = 45.36, p<.001, Φ=.35: Covers emphasizing "body" and "head and torso" shots increased from 70% in 1995 to 94% in 2000. Similarly, cover models were more likely to be sexually dressed over time, χ^2 (15, N=361) = 43.89, p<.001, Φ=.35, with 32% appearing suggestively dressed, partially-clad, or nude in 1995 compared to 67% in 2000. Last, cover models were more likely to be portrayed sexually over time, χ^2 (5, N=361) = 33.03, p<.001, Φ=.30.

The second research question (RQ2) sought to more closely examine the nature of magazine covers before and after *Maxim's* debut (see Table 2). This was done by removing *Maxim* covers from the analysis. *Details, Esquire, GQ,* and *Rolling Stone* issues published through April 1997 (Before) were compared to issues published from May 1997 through 2000 (After). Overall, the findings were similar to those for RQ1: Women were more likely to appear on covers after *Maxim's* debut, χ^2 (1, N=325) = 9.39, p<.01, Φ=.17; there was no change in cover-models' pose, χ^2 (2, N=325) = 1.0, p>.05; but there were significant relationships for how much of the cover-person's body was revealed, χ^2 (2, N=325) = 7.11, p<.05, Φ=.15; clothing worn by cover models, χ^2 (3, N=325) = 12.20, p<.01, Φ=.19; and sexual portrayal, χ^2 (1, N=325) = 12.69, p<.001, Φ=.20. The findings suggest that after *Maxim* was published women were more likely to appear on covers, and that more of their body was shown, they wore less clothing, and they were portrayed sexually.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

The remaining research question (RQ3) sought to more closely assess portrayal differences between women and men who appeared on men's magazine covers (excluding *Maxim*). Despite no differences in the two previous analyses, cover-model pose was significant between women and men, χ^2 (2, N=325) = 14.97, p<.001, Φ=.22. Thirty-one percent of women were shown sitting or reclining compared to 14% of men. Similarly, most women were shown in "head and torso" or "full body" shots than men, χ^2 (2, N=325) = 49.83, p<.001, Φ=.39. The analysis revealed that 96% of women were shot in this way compared to 64% of men. Even more significant, women were much more likely to be dressed sexually (93%) than men (16%), χ^2 (3, N=325) = 185.29, p<.001, Φ=.76. Last, there was a significant relationship between sexual portrayal and gender, χ^2 (1, N=325) = 177.58, p<.001, Φ=.74. Again, close to 96% of women were shot in a sexual manner compared to 20% of men. These findings and their implications are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Discussion

A primary purpose of this study was to assess changes in the covers of men's magazines and *Rolling Stone* from 1995 through 2000. Overall, we found several striking differences. The first research question (RQ1) sought to determine if the magazines examined in this study adopted the *Maxim* cover formula by featuring women in sexually constructed ways (pose, body view, clothing, and sexual tone). The results suggest that overall, the formula was steadily adopted over time. In an almost perfect upward trend, images of women on covers increased from 25% to 56% from 1995 to 2000 (see Table 1). Demure dress for all cover subjects on all magazines dropped from 68% to 33% during those years, and emphasis on the body of cover subjects increased. Body shots increased from 46% to 69% over the five-year period, and head

shots decreased from 30% to 6%. Because this analysis included *Maxim*, there is some bias in the direction of change. At the very least, however, this analysis provides an overview of the shift in positioning of men's magazines as a whole in a monopolistic-competitive environment, in which each magazine is vying for a similar audience while trying to brand itself as slightly different and better than its competitors. An examination of non-*Maxim* covers provides, perhaps, a less-biased perspective from which to answer the remaining research questions.

The second research question (RQ2) sought to determine if there was a difference between the covers of *Details*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* "before" and "after" *Maxim's* debut. Results suggest that—similar to the results for RQ1—these magazines adopted a *Maxim*-style format, at least in terms of sexually constructed cover persons (see Table 2). For example, women were much more likely to appear on magazine covers before *Maxim's* introduction (28%) than after (45%). Although "pose" was similar both before and after—most persons were shown standing—body view, lack of clothing, and sexual tone increased after Maxim's debut. For instance, 32% of covers contained "headshots" beforehand, compared to only 19% afterward. Perhaps in association with the use of women on covers, the four magazines used more sex-tinged images overall, since coders responded to the images as being sexy 37% of the time before *Maxim* and 57% of the time after.

A closer look at gender differences was illuminated by the third research question (RQ3) which sought to distinguish the nature of portrayal between women and men on covers. The analysis revealed several striking differences. In the overall sample of the four magazines, 84% of men who appeared on the covers were dressed demurely, with only 7% of women dressed demurely. In essence, 54% of women on covers were partially-clad (37%; bikinis, lingerie) or nude (17%) in the style of *Maxim* itself. It is important to reiterate that during the study period,

not one *Maxim* cover featured a demurely dressed woman. In addition, not only were women wearing less than men, but their bodies were emphasized more than men's bodies: Across the 1995-2000 time span for the four magazines, just 4% of female cover subjects were emphasized for their faces or head, with the remaining 96% of depictions of women's head and torso or body. For men, the highest view category was head, with 36% of all depictions. Body shots for men accounted for 30% and head and torso for 33% of all depictions for the four magazines. Given the nature of these findings, it is not surprising that almost all women on these magazine covers (96%) were sexy compared to men (20%).

Taken as a whole, these findings are consistent with related research. For example, Brinkley and Fowler's (2001) analysis of men's and women's magazine covers in the latter half of the 1990s also revealed that more women appear on covers than men, and that women are dressed more explicitly. This pattern was certainly evident in the present research. Our findings are somewhat inconsistent with those of a study that examined 1996 covers (Malkin et al., 1999). In that study, women were present in half of men's magazine covers, with men appearing 28% of covers. In our 1996 sample, two-thirds of covers featured only men (see Table 1). The discrepancy could be explained by sample selection. In the present research, leading men's general-interest magazines were selected in addition to *Rolling Stone*. Our findings were similar, however, in that when males appeared on covers, there was minimal focus on the bodies compared to women.

Implications. Overall, the study provides a window for viewing changes at competing magazines when a new competitor not only enters the market, but also is seen as dominating that market. In several press accounts about *Maxim*'s success, the editors of *Esquire*, *GQ*, *Details*, and *Rolling Stone* deny they are trying to be like *Maxim* (Jacobson, 2002; Walker & Golden,

2001). Yet *Details*' hiring of a *Maxim* editor and *Rolling Stone*'s hiring of an *FHM* editor belie this stance. In fact, *Details*' failure as a *Maxim* clone demonstrates that adopting the cover and editorial formula of a more successful competitor isn't easy. In the 1980s, a *People* magazine managing editor created the cover formula of "young is better than old; pretty is better than ugly; rich is better than poor," yet he now says these rules may not apply because "the newsstand has become too complicated and saturated with personalities" (Hagan, 2002). This more complex environment is also recognized by those who have worked closely with the *Maxim*. When former editor Golin was asked about dropping circulations in the U.K. and his future predictions for similar U.S. publications, he responded, "I think it's going to get to the point where the word sex or sexiest on a cover makes your eyes glaze over" ("The joy of sex," March 6, 2000, p. M82).

A close analysis of circulation figures and reader responses may contain lessons on the result of adopting a competitor's cover formula. Of the magazines included in this study, none experienced significant circulation growth except *Maxim*, though their covers adopted the *Maxim* formula. In the case of *Details*, a magazine that radically embraced *Maxim's* look, publishers temporarily ceased publication in the face of rapid circulation declines. It could be that established readers objected to the change and cancelled while new readers, lured by provocative covers, were disappointed by the lack of corresponding content (e.g., layouts, pictorials, sex advice). On the other hand, *Maxim* clones such as *FHM* and *Stuff*—magazines replete with pictorials and sex-tinged editorial content—experienced rapid circulation gains (Fine, 2001). One lesson for magazine positioning may be that publishers cannot use covers inconsistent with a magazine's established identity and expect to compete with a new magazine true to that positioning.

The rise in macho culture may also explain *Maxim*'s success and its competitors' changing strategies. Even though a *GQ* art director once criticized *Maxim* as serving "men who not only move their lips but drool when they read" (Foege, 2002), *Maxim* has relished its macho status as a "safe place for guys to be guys" (Blanchard, March 1998, p. 14). Joining *Maxim* in the macho culture trend are television shows such as "The Man Show," sports talk radio that resembles locker-room conversation, as well as movies and music ("Macho culture," 2000). Men's magazine covers simply may be one effect of macho culture's reach and influence, but *Maxim*'s publisher objects to charges that the magazine appeals to "the lower common denominator. I say we aim for the largest. We're trying to create entertainment value. Make it short. Make it funny" (Germillion, 1997, p. 28). Golin says the magazine is "like your best buddy that your wife or girlfriends hates. But she can't actually scream at a magazine, so you're safe" (Newman, 1999, p. 46). It's important to remember, however, that this "funny" and "safe" environment also works to construct and constrict its audience, that "[m]edia industries and patriarchal differentiations work hand in hand to keep gender in line" (Steinman, 1992, p. 203). Part of the cultural work performed by *Maxim*'s covers and similar publications is the hardening of categories, the sanctioning of the male/female binary as true and good.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research. The purpose of this study was not to demonstrate that *Maxim* was a causal factor in changes occurring at four other men's magazines. Indeed, that task is impossible since complex economic factors, cultural trends, and editorial personalities join together to affect any single magazine's purpose and branding strategy. Instead, this study sought to trace changes at *Details*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* during the rise of *Maxim*, which surely can be said to have exerted some influence in editorial decisions made in the men's magazine market from 1997 to 2000, however ambiguous and indirect.

Although many popular magazines in that market were analyzed, this study obviously didn't include all of them, and so results may be generalized only to those magazines in the study. Furthermore, the sexual tone of a cover was a subjective judgment by coders, unlike the other categories used in this content analysis. Although this judgment was based on a gestalt reading, some interpretation was necessary.

Future research might include a correlation analysis of men's magazine covers and newsstand sales, to help provide a link between editorial decisions about covers and the results of those decisions. A future qualitative study could connect the cover strategies used by *Playboy* magazine in its heyday with *Maxim*'s more recent strategy, with the aim of discerning similarities and differences in their approaches and audiences. Comparison and contrast studies could also be conducted between men's and women's magazines and the ways they may influence each other. Another study could survey long-time readers of established men's magazines and their observations and opinions about changes.

Conclusion

When a competitor storms a well-established men's magazine market, changes occur and the popular press takes notice—especially when the changes are salacious. In the case of *Maxim*'s debut and spectacular increase in circulation, speculation ran high that the "lad mag" had transformed the market. This study confirms that while changes did occur, these were different from the "cloning" claims made by observers, more subtle than simply copying the formula, but profound nonetheless. The results of this study show that, as a whole, men's magazine covers became more sexualized from 1995 to 2000. Much of the sexual nature can be attributed to the increased presence of women on covers, from 25% in 1995 to 56% in 2000, women whose bodies were invariably characterized by revealing poses and clothing. Overall,

this study found that basic format changes on covers of *Maxim*'s competitors occurred after that magazine's debut and success.

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TABLE 1

Magazine Covers: Men's Magazines and *Rolling Stone* 1995-2000

PRIMARY MODEL	YEAR					
Gender*	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Female(s)	24.6%	31.5%	41.8%	53.0%	53.8%	56.3%
Male(s)	75.4%	68.5%	58.2%	47.0%	46.2%	43.8%
Pose						
Standing	82.5%	83.3%	78.2%	83.3%	64.6%	75.0%
Sitting	15.8%	11.1%	16.4%	10.6%	21.5%	21.9%
Reclining	1.8%	5.6%	5.5%	6.1%	13.8%	3.1%
*Body View**						
Body Shot	45.6%	35.2%	27.3%	30.3%	63.1%	68.8%
Head & Torso	24.6%	33.3%	43.6%	39.4%	27.7%	25.0%
Head Shot	29.8%	31.5%	29.1%	30.3%	9.2%	6.3%
*Clothing**						
Demure	68.4%	61.1%	54.5%	50.0%	33.8%	32.8%
Suggestive	15.8%	14.8%	20.0%	19.7%	15.4%	34.4%
Partially-Clad	3.5%	16.7%	23.6%	22.7%	36.9%	25.0%
Nude	12.3%	7.4%	1.8%	7.6%	13.8%	7.8%
*Sexual Tone**						
No	61.4%	64.8%	52.7%	47.0%	33.8%	21.9%
Yes	38.6%	35.2%	47.3%	53.0%	66.2%	78.1%
Total	*n*=57	*n*=54	*n*=55	*n*=66	*n*=65	*n*=64

Note: Magazines include *Details, Esquire, GQ, Maxim,* and *Rolling Stone*. Only covers with females or males were included in the Table ($N = 361$; 91% of all covers).

*Chi-square, $p < .001$

TABLE 2
Magazine Covers: Men's Magazines and Rolling Stone *(Excluding* Maxim*) 1995-2000*

Primary Model	Before Maxim (*n*=126)	After Maxim (*n*=199)	Female(s) On Cover (*n*=124)	Male(s) On Cover (*n*=201)
Gender				
Female(s)	27.8%**	44.7%	-	-
Male(s)	72.2%	55.3%	-	-
	p<.01			
Pose				
Standing	80.2%	78.9%	68.5%	86.1%
Sitting	16.7%	15.6%	23.4%	11.4%
Reclining	3.2%	5.5%	8.1%	2.5%
	NS		*p*<.001	
Body View				
Body Shot	38.9%*	49.2%	64.5%	33.3%
Head & Torso	29.4%	31.7%	31.5%	30.3%
Head Shot	31.7%	19.1%	4.0%	36.3%
	p<.05		*p*<.001	
Clothing				
Demure	65.9%***	47.7%	7.3%	84.1%
Suggestive	15.9%	22.6%	38.7%	8.5%
Partially-Clad	9.5%	20.6%	37.1%	3.5%
Nude	8.7%	9.0%	16.9%	4.0%
	p<.01		*p*<.001	
Sexual Tone				
No	63.5%***	43.2%	4.0%	80.1%
Yes	36.5%	56.8%	96.0%	19.9%
	p<.001		*p*<.001	

Note: Magazines include *Details*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* (*Maxim* was excluded). Only covers with females or males were included in the Table (*N* = 325).

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